OUR UNITED STATES

A HISTORY

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"The study of the past begins to inspire us with new hopes for the future of humanity. The life which, viewed from without, seems in us, and thousands such as we, so petty and trivial, catches a new significance and even grandeur from the thought that it is not the isolated, transient thing we deemed it. We begin to perceive that no earnest effort for the good of humanity is ever lost, no life, however obscure, that has been devoted to the highest ends, to the service of mankind, to the progress of truth and goodness in the world, is ever spent in vain. For we can think of them as contributions to a life which is not of to-day or yesterday, but of all time — a life which, never hasting, never resting, is through the ages ever advancing to its consummation." — JOHN CAIRD.

America

Group before the New York Custom House, by Daniel Chester French.

The famous sculptor has represented America as a young woman, strong and vigorous, looking forward into the future with faith and hope. Her right hand holds the torch of progress, while peace and plenty are indicated by the sheaf of corn upon her lap. Kneeling at her left side is the figure of Industry, holding in his hand the winged wheel which has come to signify material progress. In the background at the right of America is the Indian, gazing with apprehension at the onward march of civilization.

OUR UNITED STATES

A HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM BACKUS GUITTEAU, PH.D.

AUTHOR OF "GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES," "PREPARING FOR CITIZENSHIP," ETC.

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PREFACE

Recent events have demonstrated that our teaching of history should emphasize more than ever before the peculiar and characteristic genius of American institutions, and the permanent and outstanding assets of American democracy. In this textbook the author has kept in view the dominant purpose in present-day teaching of history and government; that is, the preparation of pupils for intelligent, helpful citizenship, through the study of our country's history, its ideals, and institutions. History teaching worthy of the name no longer tolerates the mere recital of facts, dates, and names, or the answering of stereotyped questions at the end of the chapter. Rather, our teachers of history will draw from the events of the past their underlying significance; and they will relate the past to the present in such a way as to create in the minds of the pupils high ideals of American citizenship and political conduct, and to foster loyalty to the best American traditions.

Lack of definiteness is one of the criticisms most frequently made of history teaching. By this is meant the lack of definite aims; for definiteness in history teaching does not mean insisting upon exact and specific knowledge of relatively unimportant dates, names, or events. Facts, of course, we must have, but these separate facts are too fragmentary to serve as the foundation for our course in history. It remains for the teacher to analyze and evaluate the significant facts of history, to group them into large *units of study* which will "tie up in one bundle a large number of related facts forming a well-constructed whole." This can best be accomplished by applying the *project method* to the study of history; in other words, by abandoning the old "question and answer" method, and by organizing classroom instruction on the basis of *large projects, or knowledge units*. This implies the omission of many minor topics and detached facts, and the grouping of each history assignment around *one central organizing idea*.

The material presented in *Our United States* is especially adapted to teaching by the project method, for this text selects the big topics of history and gives them an enlarged treatment. For example, see the discussion of the Erie Canal (pages 318 to 320) or the Steam Rail-

road (pages 320 to 323), or the Trust Problem (pages 501 to 505). It will be found that these discussions are built upon the project method; that is, they organize knowledge around one central idea. To assist teachers in organizing the facts of our history by the project method, a Teacher's Manual has been published by Silver, Burdett and Company for use in connection with this textbook.

Throughout this volume, the larger emphasis has been placed upon social and industrial history. Such vital topics as the industrial revolution, the westward movement, the rise and control of large corporations, questions of labor, of the tariff, money, and banking, — these have received much more than the usual space. However, in writing the story of our wars, the author has proceeded upon the theory that if the story is worth telling at all, it is worth telling well. Therefore, an endeavor has been made to present a vivid narrative of military campaigns, rather than a mere colorless summary. Teachers will find the story of the campaign of the Civil War narrated from the geographical point of view, a method of approach which clears away the difficulties of the story when told merely as a chronology of events.

Attention is called to the division of the entire field of American history into eight parts, beginning with Discovery and Exploration (Part I) and ending with The United States as a World Power (Part VIII). The full page illustration placed at the beginning of each of these divisions is intended to illustrate, not the pages which immediately follow, but rather the central theme of each grand division.

It will be noted that more than one fourth of this textbook deals with the history of our country since the Civil War. In other words, nearly two hundred pages are devoted to a discussion of the more recent events of our political and industrial history. This has made possible an adequate treatment of the important social and political problems of today; and these are the problems which the young citizens now in our schools will soon be called upon to solve.

The entire book has been carefully read by Dr. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, and by Mr. Wallace McCamant, Director General of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution; and I am deeply indebted to them for helpful criticisms. The author will appreciate any suggestions from those who use this book, especially from the teachers of history, upon whom the success of any textbook so largely depends.

William Backus Guitteau

Toledo, Ohio
August, 1922

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(The titles in small capital letters indicate color maps.)

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempests' roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, — are all with thee!

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

Painting by Brozik, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Columbus at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella

OUR UNITED STATES

A HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE WAY TO CATHAY

Early Ideas about the Land and the Sea. In the fifteenth century, the common people of Europe knew less about the shape and size of the earth than is known to-day by almost every child. They thought of the earth, not as a great sphere whirling through space, but as a flat plain surrounded on all sides by the ocean. This ocean was the Atlantic, a dark waste of unexplored waters which fancy and superstition filled with all sorts of horrors. There were monster sea-serpents, and terrible whirlpools which swallowed up both ships and sailors; there was a fiery zone at the equator which no man might cross; there was — so runs the story in the Arabian Nights — a mysterious Island of Lodestone, which drew the nails from the ships and wrecked them.

Many centuries before, learned men like Aristotle had asserted their belief that the earth is round; but as late as the fifteenth century, only the few accepted this idea. Concerning the size of the earth, men were almost as much mistaken as about its shape. European navigators knew only their own continent, and parts of two others — southern Asia, and a narrow strip of Africa. Naturally, they thought of the earth as much smaller than it really is; for they did not even dream of the existence of North and South America, or Australia. It is hard for us to-day to understand why so little was then known about geography. But these early navigators lacked the means necessary to make long voyages. Their ships were so small that even the boldest sailors

of our own time would hesitate to put to sea in them, much less to venture across the Atlantic. The maps and charts of those days were inaccurate and incomplete, nor did early navigators have that steadfast friend of the sailor, the mariner's compass. But the greatest obstacle of all to early navigation was fear of the unknown, mysterious ocean, — a fear based upon ignorance, like the child's fear of the dark.

The World as Europeans Knew it before 1492

The Crusades and the East, 1096–1272. The history of the ancient world centered about the Mediterranean Sea, and throughout the Middle Ages the life of Europe was still grouped about its shores. But at length the nations of Europe began to take more interest in the countries of the East, and became eager to learn more about the people and geography of Asia. This result was due chiefly to the Crusades, or Holy Wars of the Cross. These expeditions were organized by the rulers of Europe in order to rescue the Holy Land and the tomb of Christ from the infidel Turks. The Church favored the movement, and promised salvation to those who became soldiers of the Cross. During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, thousands of Europeans took part in the Crusades, and on returning, told their countrymen about the wonderful things they had seen in the East.

The Revival of Learning. Another influence that increased Europe's interest in the East was the Revival of Learning, which began in the twelfth century. When the barbarian tribes overwhelmed imperial Rome in 476 A.D., the culture and civilization of the ancient world became lost to Europe for nearly eight hundred years. The period that followed the downfall of Rome is called the Dark Ages, for during these long centuries the people of Europe were densely ignorant. Science and education could make no headway because of the constant warfare and the disorganized condition of society.

But from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, a few European scholars began to study the art and literature of Greece and Rome. The invention of printing (1450) brought about a general increase and spread of knowledge, and Europe began to get the benefit of the achievements of the ancient world in art and letters, as well as in government and law. The stimulus of the new movement was felt in every field of human endeavor. Trade and manufactures increased, and people became eager to travel and learn about other countries. The spirit of enterprise was in the air; men began to awake to new ideas and to have a new confidence in their own powers. Gradually the Dark Ages disappeared before a new age of enlightenment and progress. This new era is called the Renaissance or New Birth, because the world seemed to be born again. This intellectual advance made the fifteenth century an age of discovery and exploration, a time that could bring forth such men as Columbus and Magellan.

Europe in the Fifteenth Century. What kind of country was that Europe which forms the background of our American history? Not the Europe which we know to-day, teeming with people, divided into strong national states, with many great industries, and a commerce covering every corner of the globe. On the contrary, Europe in the fifteenth century was thinly inhabited, its entire population being under fifty millions, or about equal to that of Great Britain to-day. Agriculture on a primitive scale was everywhere the chief occupation of the people. Manufacturing was in the household stage of develop-

ment; nearly all of its processes were carried on by hand labor, for steam was unknown as a motive power, while mechanical devices were few and crude. Mediterranean commerce had created a few flourishing cities, Venice and Genoa being the chief rivals for trade with the Far East. Paris, too, was a considerable city, but its population was under two hundred thousand. London was merely an overgrown town, Berlin was a fishing village, and Petrograd did not exist at all.

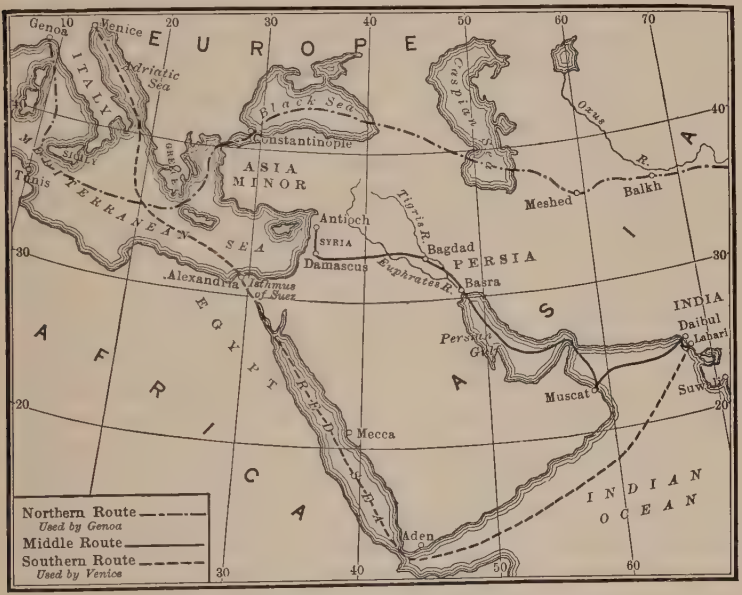
As a rule, the people of Europe were not united under strong national governments, but owed allegiance to a large number of petty rulers. Only a few powers, Austria, France, Spain, and England, could be called nations in the sense that we use the word to-day. Government was everywhere monarchical in form, except in Switzerland and in the free cities of Italy and Germany. The powers of the monarch were unlimited except for the important privileges belonging to the Church and the nobles. The people had no voice in their government, and of course no share in education, which was only for the favored few. Their part was to till the soil, to pay the taxes, and to fight the battles of their overlords. But the age of feudalism was passing, and the Revival of Learning brought about a new era in which the people were to have some share in education and in government.

In the age of Columbus, western Europe had a single religion, for Protestantism did not have its beginning until early in the sixteenth century. Throughout all western Europe, the Pope or Bishop of Rome was acknowledged as the supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church; while the people of Russia and southeastern Europe belonged to the Greek Catholic Church, with its head at Constantinople.

Trade Routes to the East. As a result of the Crusades, Europe looked to Asia for such luxuries as spices, drugs, jewels, rare woods, silks, rugs, and ivory. There were three important trade routes leading to Asia and the Far East. The northern route started from Genoa, and after crossing the Mediterranean to Constantinople, passed through the Black and Caspian seas into China. The southern route started from Venice, passed through the Mediterranean Sea to Alexandria, then by caravan

to the Red Sea and on across the Indian Ocean. The middle route began at Antioch and made its way through the Persian Gulf to India.

The trade routes were long and difficult, and fraught with danger. Chinese or Malay junks and long-winding caravans brought the products of the Orient to Constantinople, Alexandria, or Antioch. At these ports, European merchants bartered



Trade Routes to the East

with the Arab traders, offering them linens, woolen goods, glass vessels, and wines in exchange for the coveted silks, spices, perfumes, rugs, and porcelains. After the Arabs had taken a rich toll for their services as middlemen, the Oriental wares were loaded on the Italian trading fleets, to be distributed throughout Europe.

The commerce with Asia gave employment to thousands of men, and made Venice and Genoa the wealthiest cities of Europe. European merchants kept in close touch with the "Indies," a vague term used to denote southeastern Asia,

as well as China and Japan. Cathay (China) was the name given to the farthermost land lying on the border of the great Eastern Ocean. This country took a strong hold on the imagination of the people. It was reported to have a large population, hundreds of wealthy cities, and to abound in all the luxuries of the time. Farther eastward lay Cipango (Japan), an indistinct island country about which almost nothing was known.

Marco Polo and His Travels, 1271–1295. Europe's information about the Indies came from the reports of a few bold travelers, the most famous of whom was Marco Polo, a Venetian. Marco Polo traveled with his father and uncle, merchants who made a remarkable journey to northern China or Cathay. They remained for twenty years in Peking, returning at last by way of India, the Red Sea and Cairo, then back to Venice by crossing the Mediterranean. Marco Polo afterwards became a political prisoner in Genoa, and to while away the time, wrote the story of his travels. This famous book told of a vast eastern ocean beyond the land of Cathay, an account which seemed to confirm the belief of the older writers that the earth is round, and that this ocean east of China might be the same as that which washed the shores of western Europe. A copy of Polo's book afterwards came into the hands of Christopher Columbus, and helped form his idea of the earth as a sphere.

The Turks Cut Off the Trade Routes. In the fifteenth century the Ottoman Turks, whose westward advance was only delayed by the Crusaders, began a desperate move on Constantinople. This important city fell into their hands in 1453. The result was to cut off the trade from Genoa to the East by way of the Black Sea route. As the Turks spread their power and influence throughout Asia Minor toward Egypt, the other trade routes were also closed. A new route between Europe and the East must be found. A few thoughtful men began to ask themselves, "Might not Cathay and the Indies be reached by an ocean route?"

Prince Henry the Navigator. Spain and Portugal began to see that their trade would be increased by the discovery of an ocean route to the Far East. Foremost among the men eager to

experiment for a new route was Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal. Prince Henry was an earnest, devout man, anxious above all to find a route which would divert the trade of the Orient from infidel to Christian countries. He assembled around him students, mariners, and scientific men, and established a school of navigation on lonely Cape St. Vincent, which the ancients had supposed the westernmost limit of the habitable world. Under his direction, Portugal entered upon a glorious period of pioneer work in attempting to find a new sea route.

Scientific Inventions. The efforts of Prince Henry and his associates could not have been so successful without the scientific inventions just then coming into common use. The compass, by which the ship's direction can be told in all kinds of weather, and the astrolabe, an instrument to determine position with regard to the stars, gave the mariner more confidence; for the first time he felt that he could sail out of sight of land with comparative safety. Then the invention of paper, and the newly discovered art of printing, were making books of travel and geography more accessible. Finally, the invention of gunpowder gave the explorer added security against such people as he should find who still depended upon spears and arrows.

The Portuguese Sail Around Africa to India. Before the old trade routes were entirely closed, the Portuguese had begun the work of finding a new sea route. By the year 1460, Portuguese navigators had visited all the island groups off the coast of Africa, the Madeiras, the Canaries, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands. Many people began to believe that a voyage around the southern point of Africa would bring the mariner to India. Portuguese discoveries made exploration popular, and created a bold school of navigators. Attracted by the slave trade and the lure of a fabled "gold coast," they crept farther and farther down the shore of Africa. At last, in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz sailed around the southern extremity of Africa, but failed to reach India because of the furious gales. Diaz named the headland which he had passed the "Stormy Cape"; but King John of Portugal christened it the Cape of Good Hope,

because it seemed to promise so much. Among the shipmates of Captain Diaz on his famous voyage was Bartholomew, the younger brother of Christopher Columbus.

About ten years later, Vasco da Gama followed up the work of Diaz by crossing the Indian Ocean to Calicut in southern India. This completed the proof of the route to India by the circumnavigation of Africa. Well might the king of Portugal exult over this voyage. The first mariner to reach India by ocean, Da Gama had actually visited Arab cities, bringing back spices, jewels, silks, and tapestries. Under Prince Henry's leadership, Portugal had been the pioneer in exploring the ocean route to the far-famed Indies; the voyage of Da Gama won for the little kingdom the honor of first reaching the coveted goal.

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CHAPTER II

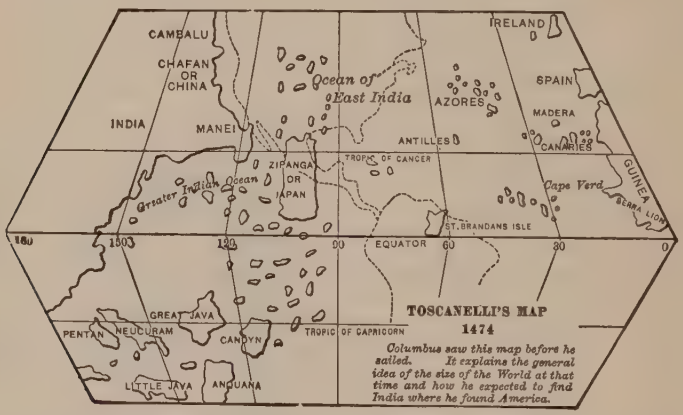
THE DISCOVERY OF A NEW WORLD

Christopher Columbus. All this travel toward Asia paved the way for some bold mariner to act on the theory that by sailing to the west, "the Indies in the East might be readily found." The man for this undertaking was Christopher Columbus, the son of a humble woolcomber of Genoa. Born about the year 1446 or 1447, Columbus was a sailor on the Mediterranean at the age of fourteen. He soon became a fearless navigator, as well as an expert maker of maps and charts. About the year 1471 Columbus went to Lisbon to live. There he married the daughter of one of Prince Henry's navigators, and later made his home on the island of Porto Santo. From this island Columbus sailed on Portuguese ships as far south as Guinea, and north possibly as far as Iceland. These voyages, with his study of maps and charts, helped him form his idea of a western route to India. Columbus was firm in the belief that the earth is round; so he reasoned that by sailing westward, he could come to China and Japan in the East.

Christopher Columbus

Toscanelli's Map. Toscanelli, a native of Florence and the most famous astronomer of his day, shared this belief. Toscanelli wrote letters to Columbus setting forth his ideas about the shape

of the earth, and he may have sent him a copy of a map that he had made. This map showed the shape of the earth as a sphere, and located the eastern countries visited by Marco Polo. Toscanelli underestimated the size of the earth, and so he placed Japan where the Gulf of Mexico actually is. Neither he nor Columbus dreamed of a continent between Europe and Asia. We know that Columbus made a careful study of Marco Polo's book of travels, for the copy that he used has been preserved, with his own notes written on the margin of the pages.



Columbus Seeks Aid. While Diaz was on his way back to Portugal after discovering the Cape of Good Hope route, Columbus was seeking aid for his voyage to the west. He first offered his services to Genoa, then to the king of Portugal, who called him a dreamer. Finally he turned to the rulers of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. The Spanish monarchs were making a final effort to drive the Moors out of Spain, and so had little time for Columbus or his plans. Still they commanded him to argue his cause before a council of learned men at Salamanca. Again was he pronounced a dreamer. "If the earth were round," jeered the skeptics, "the men on the other side of it would have to walk with their heads downward, while rain and snow must fall upward." For seven long years, Columbus pleaded in vain at the Spanish court. Meantime his brother

Bartholomew, back from the famous Diaz voyage, made an unsuccessful attempt to secure help from King Henry VII of England.

At last Columbus gave up hope of securing aid at the Spanish court, and started for France to make the same appeal that Spain had rejected. Shortly after he reached the little town of Palos on the coast of Spain, a messenger arrived from Queen

Exact Reproduction of the *Santa Maria* at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, now in Jackson Park, Chicago

Isabella to summon him back. After all these years of disappointment and failure, Columbus was to have his chance. Queen Isabella herself gave most of the money with which to equip three small sailing vessels, the *Santa Maria*, the *Nina*, and the *Pinta*. The vessels themselves were provided by the town of Palos; the crews consisted of about ninety unwilling men, some of whom were recruits from Spanish jails.

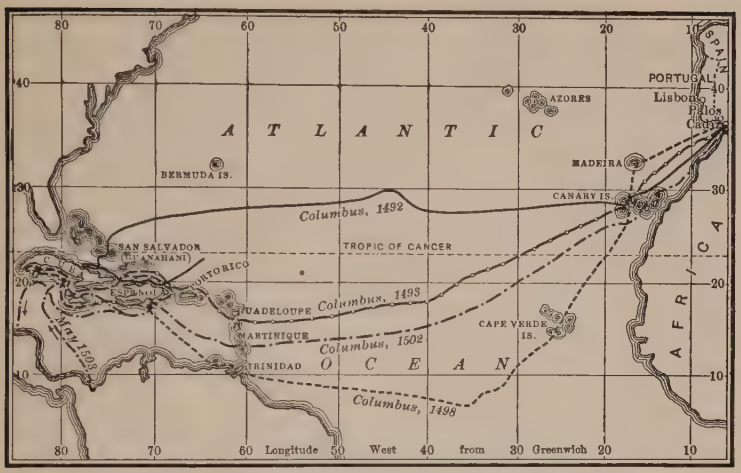
Columbus Sails Westward. A little before sunrise on August 3, 1492, the people of Palos watched the three small ships

start on the world's most famous voyage. The *Santa Maria* was chosen for the flagship because it was the largest, although only about sixty-five feet over all. The other two vessels were commanded by the Pinzon brothers, wealthy citizens of Palos. The route lay south to the Canaries, island colonies of Spain. From this point, Columbus meant to sail straight across the Atlantic to the fabled Chinese cities of Marco Polo as shown on the Toscanelli map.

Six days after leaving Palos the expedition reached the Canaries, and at the end of the first week in September it was fairly launched upon the open sea. Panic terror filled the hearts of the crew as land faded from sight on the eastern horizon, and the dark waste of waters unrolled before their gaze. But added terrors were in store for them. As the ships sailed westward, the compass needle swayed more and more to the northwest, instead of pointing toward the north star. About the middle of September, masses of seaweed were encountered, suggesting hidden shoals and all the old stories of impassable seas. Worst of all, the tradewinds blew steadily from the east, and the wretched sailors feared that there would never be a western wind to carry them home.

Discovery of America, 1492. The crew and even some of the officers were on the point of mutiny, almost ready to throw overboard the admiral who steered so relentlessly toward the west. While they were plotting, flocks of birds were seen overhead, apparently a promise of land. About two o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1492, the lookout at the masthead of the *Pinta* joyfully shouted, "Land ahead!" and the ships soon cast anchor in the harbor of a little island of the Bahama group. The boats were lowered at dawn on the following day, and Columbus with most of his men went ashore.

The first act of the pious admiral was to give thanks to God for the happy ending of his voyage. A host of copper-colored men, women, and children looked on with awe and amazement as Columbus drew his sword and planted the banner of Spain on the land which he claimed for Ferdinand and Isabella. Columbus supposed that he had reached the outlying islands



The Four Voyages of Columbus

of India, so he called the natives Indians. This name, based upon a mistaken idea, has always clung to the original inhabitants of the New World. Later, still in search of Japan or China, he coasted among the West Indies, visiting Cuba and Haiti. Returning to Spain in January, 1493, the great admiral was received with every mark of favor by Ferdinand and Isabella.

Later Voyages and Death of Columbus. Columbus made three other voyages to the New World which he still thought to be India. His second voyage was in 1493, when with a splendid fleet of seventeen ships and thirteen hundred men, he sailed to plant a Spanish settlement in Haiti. The colony was unsuccessful; little gold was found, while starvation and sickness cost many lives. The third voyage was made five years later, along the coast of South America. Columbus discovered the mouth of the Orinoco River, and concluded that so large a stream must flow out of a vast continent. On his fourth and last voyage in 1502, he passed along the coast of Honduras. While Columbus was making his later voyages, Vasco da Gama had reached the real Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope (1498). This Portuguese success overshadowed the costly ex-

peditions of Columbus, which brought no immediate returns. The admiral had bitter enemies among the Spanish grandees, and on his third voyage they placed him under arrest and sent him home in irons. Although the king and queen promptly ordered his release, they did not restore his former privileges. For example, Columbus was not again permitted to act as governor of the lands that he discovered, as guaranteed under his original compact.

When Queen Isabella died, Columbus lost his only protector. His enemies became more powerful, and the last days of his life were passed in sickness and poverty. His sons were jeered at in the streets as "the sons of the Admiral of the Land of Mosquitoes." Columbus died at Valladolid in 1506, probably without knowing that he had discovered a New World. Neglected and unhonored at his death, it remained for future ages to give him his just fame. The great achievement of Columbus was due not so much to his true notion of the shape of the earth, as to the heroic spirit which alone made possible his first immortal voyage. Other men had reasoned that the earth is a sphere; Columbus was the first to put his theory to the test of action.

The Northmen Visit America. Columbus was by no means the first European to visit the shores of America. Far to the north of Europe, on the Scandinavian peninsula, lived a people whose roving sailors probably reached America as early as 1000 A.D. The Northmen were sturdy, fair-haired warriors, whose chief aim in life was conquest and adventure. Roaming the sea in their long boats, they visited and colonized Iceland and distant Greenland. In one of these voyages from Norway to Greenland, the Norse leader, Leif Ericson, missed his way. According to Norse tradition, he landed upon a strange coast west and south of Greenland, probably either Nova Scotia or some part of New England. The Northmen built huts and spent the winter in this region, which they named Vinland or Wineland because the wild grapes were so abundant. Several visits to this new coast were made, but the difficulty of the voyage and the hostility of the Indians at last put an end to the expeditions.

Since the Northmen were cut off by sea from the rest of Europe, the story of their voyages was not generally known; and even if known, the importance of the discovery could not have been appreciated by the ignorant Europeans of the eleventh century. If Columbus made a visit to Iceland, he may have talked with sailors who were familiar with the tales of the Norse sea rovers.

Division of the Newly Discovered Lands. With the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, Spain and Portugal became active rivals for the islands and wealth of the Indies. To prevent disputes between the two nations, Pope Alexander VI issued a decree dividing the new discoveries. The Pope drew an imaginary line north and south through the middle of the Atlantic. He announced that all lands west of this line should belong to Spain, while all east of it should belong to Portugal. The two countries afterwards agreed upon a new line, three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This gave all of the New World to Spain, except the eastern portion of Brazil.

Voyages of the Cabots. An active maritime nation like England was not likely to accept this division of the New World between her rivals, Spain and Portugal. Ignoring the Pope's decree, King Henry VII of England authorized an Italian navigator, John Cabot, to explore and take possession of "all newly found ports, countries, and seas, of the East, the West, and of the North." Cabot sailed from Bristol in 1497, with one small ship and eighteen men. After a three months' voyage, during which he probably explored the St. Lawrence River, Cabot returned with the report that he had reached "the territory of the Grand Khan." Like Columbus, Cabot thought that he had found the Indies. John Cabot made a second voyage one year later, perhaps accompanied by his son Sebastian. This voyage is a matter of doubt and dispute, but the expedition may have explored the North American coast from Labrador as far south as Chesapeake Bay. One thing is certain: the account book of the frugal King Henry contains an entry, "To him who found the New Isle, £10."

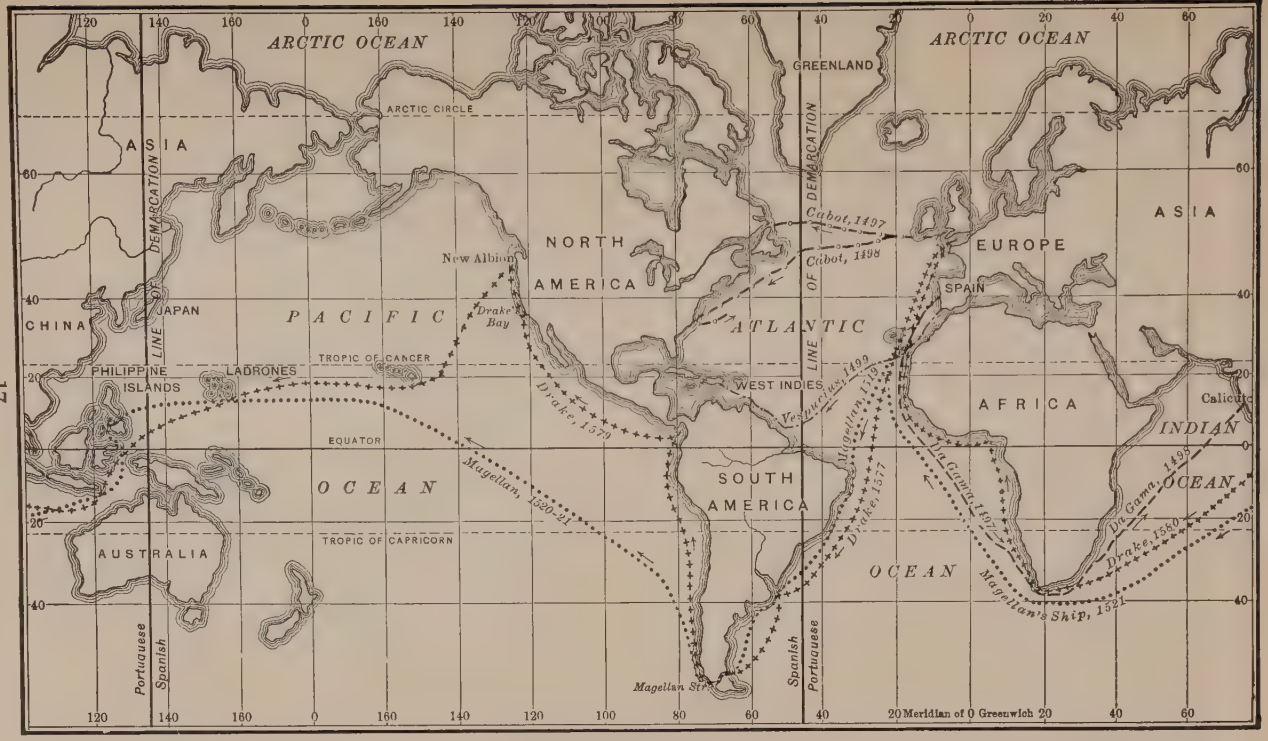
Surely not an excessive reward, for upon the Cabot voyages England afterwards based her claim to the whole of North America.

The Naming of America. Another explorer who made at least three voyages to South America was Americus Vespucius, an Italian merchant in the employ first of Spain and later of Portugal. Vespucius wrote interesting letters about his travels, and boldly claimed that he had discovered a new world. "I have found," he wrote, "a continent more thickly inhabited by people and animals than is Europe, Asia, or Africa. It might properly be called a *new world*." In the year 1507, a geographer gave the name America to the southern continent which, he said, Americus had discovered. Gradually the name America was also applied to the northern continent, which at last men learned was not India.

Americus Vespucius

Balboa Discovers the Pacific Ocean, 1513. Another famous explorer, Balboa, discovered the Pacific Ocean, which he called the South Sea. Balboa was a bankrupt Spanish planter who, to escape his creditors, joined an expedition to the Isthmus of Panama. While the Spaniards were wrangling with the natives over some fifty pounds of gold, one of the Indians lost patience and rebuked them for their greed, adding: "I will shewe you a region flowing with golde where you may satisfie your ravening appetites. . . . When you are passing over these mountaines (poynting with his finger towards the south mountaines) you shall see another sea where they sayle with ships as big as yours."

In search of this land of gold, Balboa started across the Isthmus of Darien (Panama). A difficult march of eighteen



Famous World Voyages

miles through the dense tropical forest brought him to a mountain peak from which he could see a vast expanse of water. Descending to the coast, Balboa waded out into the rising tide and claimed possession for Spain of the "South Sea" and all the shores that it washed. Another honor besides his discovery of the Pacific belongs to Balboa, for it was he who first suggested that a canal be dug across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the two oceans.

Magellan Sails Around the World. Columbus had searched for a new route to the East, Vespucius and the Cabots had touched on a new continent, and Balboa had found a new ocean. But the vast extent of the newly discovered region was not known until the world voyage of Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese navigator in the employ of Spain. Magellan was a man "small in stature, who did not appear in himself to be much"; but he made one of the greatest voyages in the history of navigation. It was in September, 1519, that Magellan sailed for the west with five wornout ships and a treacherous crew of some three hundred men. Passing along the coast of South America, he made his way through the straits that bear his name, and suddenly came out into a vast expanse of calm sea. So marked was the contrast to the stormy Atlantic through which he had just passed that he named it the Pacific, that is, the Peaceful Ocean. Day after day, week after week, Magellan held on his course to the Spice Islands of the East. Sickness and starvation reduced his crew, but at last the expedition reached the Philippines. Here the heroic commander was killed in battle with the natives, and few of his followers ever reached home. Only one ship out of five, the *Victoria*, finally crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and at last, three years out from Spain, sailed with eighteen survivors into the port of San Lucar.

Results of Magellan's Voyage. Magellan's voyage had important results, for his ship had sailed around the entire world. It was now settled that the lands discovered by Columbus and other navigators were not islands off the coast of Asia, but were part of an immense continent, a New World in a

western hemisphere. The voyage also proved that the ocean between America and Asia was by far the largest body of water on the globe; and therefore this globe was much larger than Toscanelli and Columbus believed. Since Magellan had found that there was no passage through the continent south of the equator, all further search for this route must be made to the north. The next age of explorers, Spanish, French, English, and Dutch, gave their countrymen clearer ideas about the size of the new continent by tracing its coast line and exploring the adjacent islands. But they found no northwest passage, no fountain of youth, and no cities of gold.

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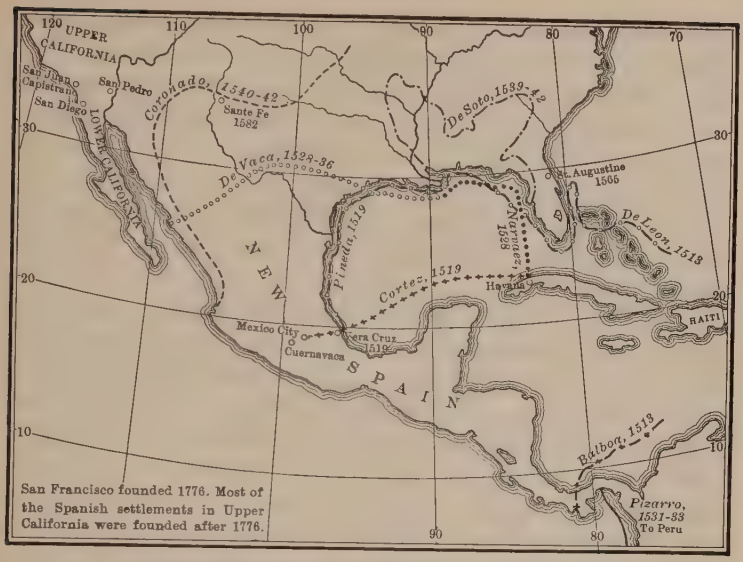
CHAPTER III

SPANISH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS

Spain's Progress in the New World. From the voyage of Columbus until late in the sixteenth century, the history of America is the story of Spanish exploration and conquest. During this period, Spain extended her settlements from the West Indies and Florida around the east and west coasts of South America, and north to the Gulf of California. At first the new continent was regarded as little more than an obstacle in the path of trade with the Indies. But with the discovery of the rich mines of Mexico and Peru, America took on a value of its own. It was the lust for gold that led on the Spanish adventurers, Ponce de Leon, Cortez, Coronado, and De Soto; it was the immense treasure from the New World that became the foundation stone of the great Spanish empire of the sixteenth century. This same golden stream at length undermined Spanish character and industry, and led England to enter the lists against Spain in the contest for world empire.

The West Indies and Florida. The first permanent Spanish colony in the New World was on the island of Hispaniola or Haiti, where Columbus founded the town of Isabella on the north coast. From Haiti as a center, the Spaniards extended their dominion over Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba. They next set out from the West Indies to explore the mainland of North America. The first voyage to the eastern coast of the mainland was made by Ponce de Leon, an aged warrior who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and who remained to seek his fortune in the New World. In Porto Rico, Ponce de Leon was told of an island to the north where gold abounded, and where there was a wonderful fountain whose waters restored youth to the aged. Ponce de Leon sailed through the Bahamas



Spanish Voyages of Exploration and Conquest

in search of this island, and on Easter Sunday, 1513, anchored off the present site of St. Augustine. Florida, or the Land of Flowers, he named the low-lying shore with its mass of green foliage; then sailing southward along the coast, he rounded the peninsula and went up the west side.

The Conquest of Mexico, 1519–1521. The year 1519, famous in the history of exploration because of Magellan's voyage, also saw the conquest of Mexico. This expedition was sent out by the governor of Cuba, and consisted of five hundred men under the command of Hernando de Cortez, the boldest of Spanish explorers. West of the Gulf of Mexico lay the Aztec empire, a military despotism of warlike tribes under the rule of a chief named Montezuma. The country was rich in gold and silver, and the people were skilled in a crude sort of art and architecture. They worked in copper and gold, and built splendid stone temples where human sacrifices played an important part in their worship. One of the Mexican traditions told of a fair god who would come from the east to conquer

the gods of darkness. Cortez took advantage of this superstition, and after scuttling his ships to destroy all hope of retreat, marched upon the capital city of Montezuma's empire. By a mixture of daring and audacity he entered the City of Mexico, made the Aztec ruler a prisoner, and added his empire to the possessions of Spain. Mexico proved to be the richest country found by the Spaniards with the single exception of Peru, whose silver mines were seized by Pizarro about ten years later.

Coronado's Exploration of the Southwest, 1540–1542. Mexico in turn succeeded the West Indies as the starting point of new exploring expeditions. From Mexico, the Spanish leader Coronado marched across the deserts of Arizona until he finally reached New Mexico. Here he found that the "Seven Cities" of which he had heard such wonderful reports were merely Pueblo villages of the Zuñi Indians, with their curious, many-roomed houses of mud and stones. There was no gold, and so Coronado continued northward. He discovered the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, and pushed on to a point near the center of Kansas. Discouraged at last, Coronado began the march back to Mexico. He had found neither gold nor wealthy kingdoms, but by exploring a vast extent of country, his expedition gave the Spaniards some knowledge of the Southwest.

Discovery of the Mississippi, 1541. While Coronado was wandering over what is now the state of Kansas, another Spaniard was exploring the country a few hundred miles toward the southeast. Hernando de Soto, a distinguished soldier and governor of Cuba, was commissioned by the king to conquer and settle the whole region now included in the southern part of the United States. Landing at Tampa Bay with a force of six hundred men, De Soto marched through a part of what is now Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to western Tennessee. Here the expedition came to "a great river, alwaies muddie, down which there came continually manie trees and timbers." It was the Mississippi, the Father of Waters. Crossing the river near the present site of Memphis, De Soto continued an uncertain wandering toward the west. Next year the

heroic leader died, and his body, weighted with sand, was buried in the river that he had discovered. His followers managed to build seven rude boats in which they floated down the river to the sea, then along the Gulf Coast to Mexico. Thus ended, more than four years after the start from Tampa Bay, the greatest exploring expedition in the history of North America.

St. Augustine, Our Oldest City. The Spanish government sent Menendez, an able but merciless leader, to colonize Florida. He found a colony of French Protestants or Huguenots located near the mouth of the St. John's River. Enraged because the French had made a settlement in what Spain considered her lawful territory, Menendez captured and put to the sword nearly all of the French colonists. He then built a fort, and the settlement around it became the oldest city in the United States, St. Augustine (1565).

Spain's Empire in the New World. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Spanish pathfinders had explored the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Cape Horn, and the Pacific coast from the Straits of Magellan north to Oregon. They had conquered the empire of the Aztecs in Mexico and that of the Incas in Peru, and the wealth of their mines became the foundation of Spain's power in Europe. The southwestern part of what is now the United States had been visited by Coronado and De Soto; while other Spanish adventurers had explored the interior of South America. Spain's empire in the New World was organized into two kingdoms: (1) New Spain, comprising the West Indies and the mainland north of the Isthmus of Panama; and (2) Peru, which included the isthmus and all territory to the south, except Brazil. Spain claimed but did not develop the northern region afterwards settled by Englishmen. The gold of the regions to the south was the lure which drew the Spanish explorers away from the north.

Religion and Education — the Spanish Missions. The work of converting the natives to Christianity followed close upon the conquest of their country. The old temples and idols were destroyed, and every town was required to have its church and hospital, besides a school where the Indian children were

instructed in the Spanish language and in the Roman Catholic religion. In the outlying districts, missions were established where the Indians were taught to read, and trained to peaceful and industrious lives. Colonists soon came to group themselves about the missions, which gradually developed into settlements. In this way the missions served both to convert the natives, and to form the outposts of an advancing colonization. The missions spread from California and Texas to Paraguay and Chile; and many places in the southwestern part of our country are today named from them.

Mission San Luis Rey, near San Diego, California

These Missions were established wherever the Indians were to be Christianized. The Indians themselves built the churches under the direction of the Mission Fathers. Though differing in design from each other, the churches almost uniformly inclosed courtyards ornamented with fountains and decorated with trees and shrubbery along the cloisters.

Many institutions of higher learning were established in Spanish America at a very early date. The first college was founded in the City of Mexico in 1535, and others soon followed. Both in numbers and in the standard of work done, the Mexican colleges of the sixteenth century probably

surpassed those of English America until the nineteenth century. The printing press was introduced in Mexico in 1536; imposing public buildings were constructed, such as colleges and hospitals; while throughout New Spain there were larger and wealthier cities than anywhere in the English colonies. Thus the Spaniards did a great work in giving to a large part of the New World the benefit of their own culture and civilization. Although Spain's colonies finally threw off her rule and became independent, they have kept her language and her religion as a permanent heritage.

How Spain Governed Her Empire. Neither Spain nor her colonies knew the meaning of self-government. New Spain and Peru were ruled by viceroys who were the personal representatives of the Spanish monarch. Their power was nearly absolute, although there was an appointive council which helped to decide certain questions. Laws for Spanish America were made by the king of Spain through the Council of the Indies. This body was appointed by the king, and had full legislative and judicial powers over the colonies.

By the year 1574, one hundred and sixty thousand Spaniards were living in the New World. They had founded two hundred towns and cities, while eight thousand Indian villages were under their rule. Most of the Indians had been converted to a nominal Christianity; but after their baptism they were shown no mercy by the gold-loving Spaniards. Compelled to work in the mines for six or eight months of each year, the Indians found it impossible to pay the tribute exacted by their conquerors. Disease and overwork threatened to exterminate the natives; and in 1502 Spain began to import the stronger blacks of Africa to take their places. Spain kept a monopoly of the trade with her colonies, for it was taken for granted that they were planted for the benefit of the mother country. Harsh and absolute as was Spain's colonial policy, it did not differ greatly from that of other European nations except that the Spanish system was more strictly enforced. Spain's colonies suffered not so much because the mother country meant to oppress them, as from the unwise laws which sacrificed colonial interests in

order to protect Spain's manufactures and trade. At times, too, the Spanish colonists were the victims of unscrupulous officials sent over to rule them.

The Beginning of Spain's Decline. Spain reached the height of her power in the sixteenth century. The immense treasure from Mexico and Peru made it possible for Charles V and Philip II to carry on long wars, and gave Spain great prestige at the courts of Europe. But the wealth which appeared to be the source of Spain's greatness was in reality the cause of her decay. The treasure from the colonies drew the Spaniards away from sober industrial pursuits, and encouraged the spirit of speculation and adventure. Manufactures and agriculture were neglected, and Spain became more and more dependent upon other countries for the necessaries of life. By the year 1560, only about one twentieth of the commodities which Spain exported to her colonies were produced in the mother country.

The Rise of England as a World Power. The treasure which enfeebled Spain was promoting England's industries and commerce. English manufacturers were producing a large part of the clothing, furniture, and other supplies used by the Spaniards. With the growth of her industries and of a powerful middle class of artisans and merchants, England's rising power began to threaten the supremacy of Spain. King Henry VIII and later, Queen Elizabeth, built up the English navy, making the vessels larger and stronger, and arming them with heavier guns. Enriched by the treasure won from Spain, England developed a powerful fleet manned by the best sailors in Europe.

England had done nothing up to this time to follow up the discoveries of the Cabots, in fact she had allowed their voyages to become almost forgotten. At last the island kingdom began to show an interest in the affairs of the New World. The first clash between Spain and England came when the Spanish king refused to allow any outsiders to trade with the West Indies. Queen Elizabeth won the enmity of Spain by permitting her famous sea captains to harass the West Indies, where they plundered the Spanish settlements and captured the treasure ships bound for Spain.

The Early English "Sea Dogs." John Hawkins was the first English mariner to come into conflict with the Spaniards by interfering with their monopoly of trade in the West Indies. The planters and gold-seekers of New Spain needed cheap labor; negroes were plentiful in Africa, and Hawkins did not propose to forego the profits on a cargo of slaves merely because Spain claimed a monopoly of the trade with her colonies. After two profitable ventures to Haiti in his good bark, the *Jesus*, Hawkins met with disaster on the third voyage. His little fleet of nine ships was driven by storm into the harbor of Vera Cruz, where the Spanish commander first promised protection, then made a treacherous attack. Only two of the English ships escaped, one of which was commanded by Francis Drake, a Devonshire lad of twenty years.

Sir Francis Drake
From an engraving of his time.

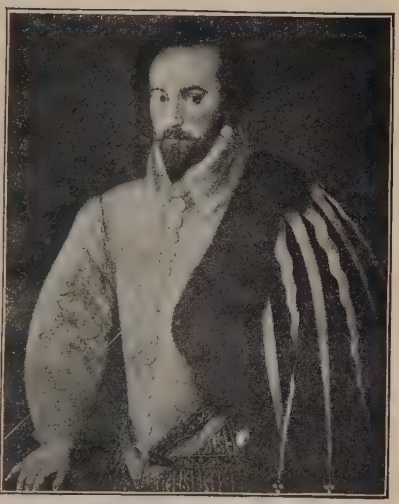
Drake devoted his life from this time on to privateering, and his name became a terror to the Spaniards. He made many voyages across the Atlantic, plundering the Spanish settlements and galleons. When the Spaniards redoubled their vigilance in the West Indies, Drake determined to raid the unguarded settlements on the Pacific coast. With five ships he sailed along the eastern coast of South America and passed through the Straits of Magellan. Following the coast northward, he plundered the ports of Chile and Peru, and captured many Spanish vessels. Drake lost all of his ships except the *Pelican*, which he renamed the *Golden Hind* because of the immense booty of gold and pearls with which it was laden. He knew that he could not return home the way he had come, for the Spaniards were waiting for him along the South American coast and at the Straits of Magellan. So he sailed northward in search of a passage to the Atlantic, and coasted

along California as far as Oregon. Disappointed at not finding a passage through the continent, Drake turned westward across the Pacific Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and in September, 1580, his weather-beaten and weed-clogged ship sailed into Plymouth Harbor. Soon afterwards Queen Elizabeth came to dinner on board the *Golden Hind*, and showed her pleasure over Drake's exploit by knighting him in the presence of his men.

Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588. Drake's operations added to the glory of England and won him the favor of Queen Elizabeth, but they made the Spaniards more and more hostile. Not only had England become the dreaded enemy of Spain on the sea, but she was aiding the brave little nation of the Netherlands in its heroic struggle against Spanish tyranny. Moreover, England was the principal Protestant country of Europe, while Philip II was the foremost ruler of a Catholic kingdom. At a time when the Catholic world was enraged at Elizabeth because of her execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, Philip determined to invade and conquer England. In 1588, there appeared in the English Channel the "Invincible Armada," an immense fleet of warships carrying an army of thirty thousand men. The English ships which met the Spanish fleet were smaller but much swifter; they were armed with heavier guns and manned by the best sailors in the world. Howard, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Grenville, and other naval heroes were present and joined in the battle. Many of the Spanish vessels were sunk, others were destroyed by storm, and scarcely more than half of the fleet escaped back to Spain. It was a tremendous victory for the power destined to become the "Mistress of the Seas." The naval power of Spain received a deadly blow, important in American history because from this time on, England could found colonies and conduct explorations without fear of Spain.

The First English Settlements. Nearly twenty years before the Great Armada was destroyed, Queen Elizabeth had shown her interest in colonization by granting to Sir Humphrey Gilbert a patent for trade and settlement in any lands not already held by a Christian prince. Gilbert reached the harbor of

St. John's, Newfoundland, and took possession of the island in the name of his queen. The colony did not prosper, and the brave Gilbert lost his life in a terrific storm on the return voyage. The work begun by Gilbert was carried on by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, an accomplished courtier who had won his way to the heart of Queen Elizabeth. Raleigh sent to the West Indies an exploring party which captured several Spanish ships, then sailed northward to the shore of what is now North Carolina. The expedition brought back such favorable reports of the region that Elizabeth, in honor of herself as a virgin queen, called the country Virginia.



Sir Walter Raleigh at the Age of Thirty

From a de Medici print at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts after a painting by Zuccaro.

Raleigh's "Lost Colony." The next year Raleigh sent a number of settlers to found a colony on Roanoke Island. Disheartened after a year of hardships, they took advantage of Sir Francis Drake's visit to the colony to return with him to England. Undaunted by this failure, Raleigh sent out another expedition of three ships and one hundred and fifty colonists, among whom were a score of women and children. They intended to settle in the Chesapeake Bay district, but on reaching Roanoke Island the pilot refused to continue the voyage, so a landing was made. Virginia Dare was born here a few days later, the first English child to be born on the soil of the United States. Virginia's grandfather, the leader of the party, was obliged to return to England for supplies, and because of the threatened Spanish invasion could not revisit the colony until four years later. He found the

island deserted and the fort in ruins; the only clue to the mystery was the word "Croatoan" carved on a tree. This was the name of a friendly tribe of Indians on an island near by, so it was thought that the colonists might have taken refuge with them. No trace was ever found of little Virginia Dare or the lost colony.

Raleigh kept up his interest in America even after his imprisonment in the Tower of London on a false charge of treason. He was the true parent of English colonization in America, and spent over $200,000 of his own fortune on colonizing expeditions. Later, finding the burden too heavy for one individual, he sold his trading rights in Virginia to a company of merchants. Just before his imprisonment, Raleigh wrote of this country: "I shall yet live to see it an English nation."

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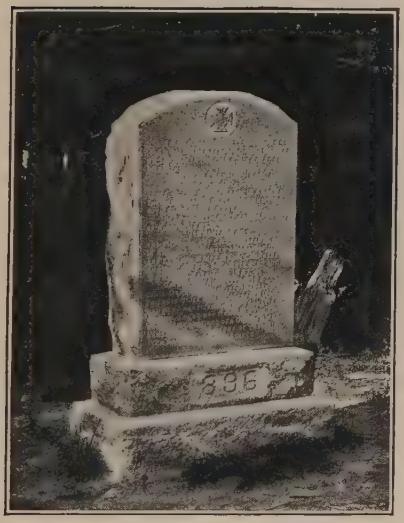


Stone Marking the Site of Old Fort Raleigh, the First Settlement of the English Race in America

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH AND DUTCH EXPLORATIONS

The Early French Fishermen. While the Spanish adventurers were exploring the West Indies and the southern part of North America, French fishermen had found a profitable industry off the Newfoundland coast. The people of Europe at that time had more than one hundred fast days in the year, and so there was an enormous demand for fish. When John Cabot reported that the waters he had explored were swarming with cod and salmon, the hardy fishermen of western Europe set sail for the banks of Newfoundland. Fishermen from the ports of St. Malo and Dieppe were among the first to reach this region, probably about the year 1504. They built huts along the coast of Newfoundland, made immense hauls of cod off the Grand Banks, and searched the northern waters for seals and whales. These early voyages were of slight geographical importance, but they drew the attention of France to Canada, and paved the way for her future explorations.

France Enters on the Work of Exploration, 1524. The king of France finally sent out a Florentine navigator, Verrazano, to discover new lands and to search for a northwest passage to Asia. Verrazano reached the coast of the Carolinas, then sailed northward, exploring Chesapeake Bay, New York harbor, and the New England coast. Ten years later, Jacques Cartier, a master pilot of St. Malo, sailed from France to continue the search for the northwest passage. Cartier went up the St. Lawrence River as far as the present site of Quebec, and found this region " as fair as was ever seen." He sailed on up the St. Lawrence until he reached Lachine Rapids, the head of navigation from the sea ; the near-by island mountain he named *Mont Royal*, or Montreal. Cartier failed to find a northwest passage,

and his settlement at Quebec lasted little more than a year; but France afterwards based her claim to the valley of the St. Lawrence upon his voyage.

Samuel de Champlain, the Father of New France. It was reserved for one greater than Cartier to establish French power in the New World. This was the mission of Samuel de Champlain, the intrepid explorer who well deserves his title, "the Father of New France." Champlain made his first trip up the St. Lawrence in 1603, following the route taken by Cartier nearly seventy years before. Later he visited the Isle of St. Croix, and helped to establish at Port Royal the first permanent French settlement in North America. Acadia was the name given to this isolated peninsula between the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic; and with the occupation of Acadia, the land immortalized by Longfellow, the history of New France begins. This was in the opening years of the seventeenth century, before the English had come to Jamestown, and before there were any settlements in North America except those made by Spain.

Samuel de Champlain

From a painting by Th. Hamel, after the Moncornet portrait.

The Founding of Quebec. On his first St. Lawrence voyage, Champlain saw with a soldier's eye that the towering rock of Quebec was an ideal location for a fortress to guard the door of a vast continent. Commissioned as governor of New France, he sailed in 1608 to establish on this lofty cliff the colony destined to become the stronghold of French power in America. It was a splendid site for a colony; it commanded the Indian traffic of an immense drainage basin, and was well located for sending out

exploring parties into the interior. From Quebec, Champlain led several expeditions up the Saguenay and Ottawa rivers. He also explored the region around Lake Champlain, and reached the shores of Lake Huron while vainly seeking a western waterway through the continent. For many years the few settlers at Quebec endured untold hardships of cold, hunger, and scurvy. The fortress was captured by the English in 1629, when Champlain had only sixteen soldiers for its defense; but it was restored to France three years later. Quebec remained the citadel of New France for a century and a half, until the brave General Wolfe led a British army to the final victory on the Plains of Abraham.

Characteristics of French Colonization. Great colonizer as he was, Champlain failed in his efforts to make New France an agricultural country. The company that controlled the colony developed the most obvious source of wealth, the fur trade, but neglected the cultivation of a reluctant soil. Fishermen, trappers, soldiers, and roaming adventurers were not the men to lay the sure foundations of a permanent empire. Conquest, exploration, missionary zeal, and above all, the fur trade, were the motives of French colonization in America. These aims explain the failure of France in her conflict with the sturdy Englishmen who came with their families to find homes in the western wilderness. Then too, the company which had a monopoly of French trade in the New World forbade the Huguenots, or French Protestants, to enter Canada. Thus France, like Spain, shut out from her New World possessions the very class of men who would gladly have sought refuge with their families from the intolerance and persecution of the Old World.

Champlain and the Iroquois. In spite of his tact, Champlain made one of the most serious mistakes of early colonization. To please the Algonquin Indians of the St. Lawrence region, he consented to join one of their frequent war parties against the Iroquois, a confederacy of Five Nations living in New York and northeastern Pennsylvania. Near the later site of Fort Ticonderoga, Champlain and his Indian allies easily routed the Iroquois, who were unacquainted with the white man's weapons.

In the end it proved a costly victory, for the Iroquois never forgave the French. In revenge for their defeat, Iroquois warriors made repeated attacks on the Hurons, driving them from their homes to the southern shores of Lake Superior; and they annihilated the Algonquin tribes of the St. Lawrence Valley. Their war parties raided the French settlements, interrupted the fur trade, and constantly menaced Montreal and even

Champlain's Attack on the Iroquois Fort

After the original in Champlain's *Nouvelle France.*

Quebec itself. Most important of all, the Iroquois tribes formed a living barrier protecting the Dutch and English settlers, who supplied them with firearms and stirred them up to bloody forays against the common foe. Even the Jesuit missionaries, so successful with the Indians of the north, could not soften these fierce hearts. One of the last acts of Champlain's life was to petition Cardinal Richelieu for men and arms in order that he might repel the merciless attacks of the Iroquois.

The Discovery of Lake Michigan. Himself the boldest of explorers, Champlain was anxious to learn as much as possible about the inhabitants and country of New France. He decided to train some of his young men in the language of the Canadian Indians, and have them learn Indian life at first hand by living among the different tribes. One Jean Nicolet, who had lived sixteen years with the Indians, was sent by Champlain to investigate the report of a large body of water toward the west. Nicolet penetrated to Lake Michigan and followed its western shore as far as Green Bay, but failed to reach the Mississippi River.

The Jesuits in Canada. Jesuit priests, members of the ancient and powerful Order of Jesus, came to the aid of soldier-explorers like Champlain. The aim of the French Jesuits was to convert the whole native population to Christianity, a heroic task which these black-robed priests took up with the zeal of the Crusader. The Jesuits led the van of French colonization in Canada; but when success seemed almost won, their missions and Indian converts were swept aside by the Iroquois avalanche.

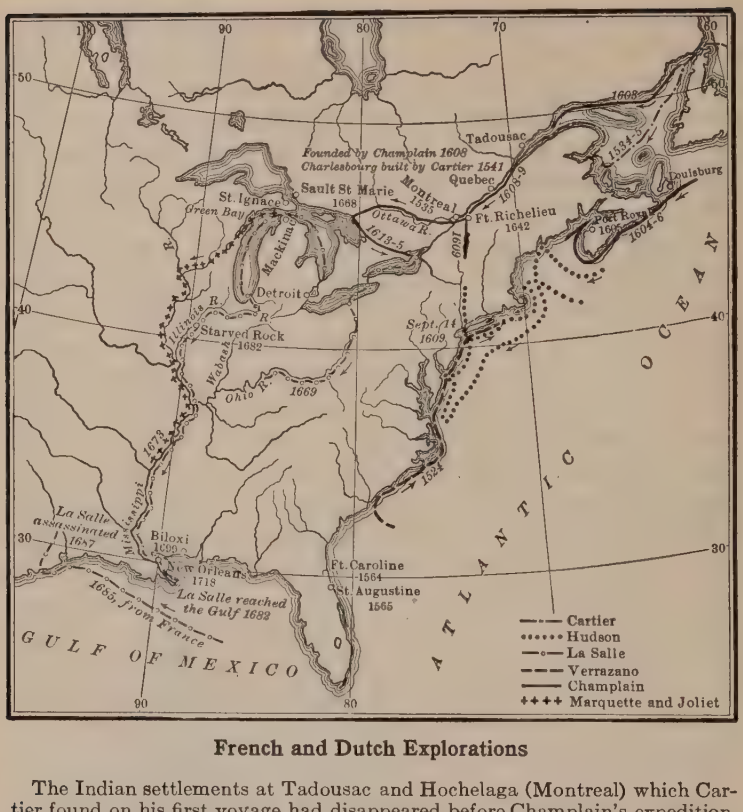
The Statue of Marquette at Marquette, Michigan

Discovery of the Mississippi River, 1673. The most famous of these early priests and explorers was Father Marquette, who lived in a Jesuit mission on the Straits of Mackinac. Marquette determined to search for the Mississippi River, of which he had heard a vague account from his Indian converts. In company with Louis Joliet, Marquette passed from Lake Michigan into the Fox River, then by a portage to the Wisconsin. The explorers paddled

their canoes down this river to the Mississippi, following its course to the mouth of the Arkansas. Fearing capture by the Spaniards if they went on to the Gulf region, they retraced their course. Marquette had discovered the important fact that the Mississippi did not empty into the South Sea, as had been supposed, and hence did not form a highway across the continent.

La Salle Claims Louisiana for France, 1682. At Champlain's death in 1635, France could claim from his explorations and those of his followers the country as far west as Wisconsin. It remained for the greatest of French pathfinders, La Salle, to add the Mississippi Valley to New France. Inspired by Marquette's voyage down the Mississippi, La Salle decided to visit the wilderness through which the "Father of Waters" ran its course. He had a vision of a chain of forts and trading stations along all the inland waterways from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, forming a mighty bulwark for the empire of New France. La Salle discovered the Ohio River in 1670; and twelve years later, after many mishaps, the intrepid explorer found his way to the mouth of the Mississippi. He had reached that river by way of Lake Michigan, the Chicago portage, and the Illinois River. La Salle took formal possession of all the vast basin drained by the Mississippi, naming the country Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV, king of France.

On returning to Quebec, La Salle learned that he had been deprived of his command, so he went to France to lay his case before the king. Louis XIV listened with delight to the story of his explorations. By way of reward, the king authorized him to plant colonies in Louisiana, and made him governor of the entire region between Lake Michigan and the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle then set sail for Louisiana, intending to enter the Mississippi by way of the Gulf of Mexico. His pilots missed their way, and one of the ships was captured by the Spaniards, while the others took refuge in Matagorda Bay, far to the west of their destination. In desperate plight, La Salle finally set out on horses obtained from the natives, hoping to reach Canada overland and secure reinforcements. But the end of his explora-



French and Dutch Explorations

The Indian settlements at Tadousac and Hochelaga (Montreal) which Cartier found on his first voyage had disappeared before Champlain's expedition, 1603. The palace and fort built by Cartier at Charlesbourg were located at Cap Rouge, nine miles above Stadacona, which became Quebec, 1608.

The rapids of the St. Lawrence above Montreal were named Lachine (La Chine, the French for "China") because the explorers thought the northwest passage had been found.

tions was at hand, for on reaching the bank of Trinity River, the great pathfinder was shot from ambush by one of his own mutinous followers.

The French Empire in North America. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a greater New France was held together by a chain of forts and trading stations extending along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi River. On the Great Lakes the

most important post was Detroit, controlling Lake Erie and the tributaries to the Ohio River. New Orleans was founded in 1718 at the mouth of the Mississippi, and soon became an important center of trade. France held secure possession of the St. Lawrence Valley, forming with the Great Lakes a natural highway through the heart of the continent; and she claimed dominion over the entire Mississippi Basin. The French possessions in North America, to which the general name of New France is given, comprised three geographical divisions:

(1) Acadia, including New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and a part of Maine, with its principal colony at Port Royal.

(2) New France proper, the river valley of the St. Lawrence and the country surrounding the Great Lakes. Its central settlement was Quebec.

(3) Louisiana, the great basin of the Mississippi River, with its entrance guarded by the fort at New Orleans.

The Dutch in Search of a Northwest Passage. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Holland was a sturdy little nation which had won its independence from Spain, and was becoming one of the chief trading nations of Europe. Dutch ships and sailors were found on every sea, although their chief trading center was the East Indies. A large trading company, the Dutch East India Company, was attempting to find a new route to the East either by sailing around the north of Europe, or by means of a northwest passage through the American continent. With this object in view, the company engaged the services of an Englishman, Henry Hudson.

In his famous ship, the *Half Moon*, Hudson visited the coast of Maine, sailed south as far as Virginia, then northward again, exploring Delaware Bay, and at last cast anchor inside of Sandy Hook (1609). After carefully exploring the Narrows, Hudson navigated his ship into the upper bay, then into the mouth of the river that bears his name. He sailed northward for eleven days, delighted with the wonderful scenery of the Hudson, and hoping that he had found a passage to the Pacific Ocean. But the *Half Moon* could not proceed above the site of modern Albany; and a boat party which went eight leagues

farther up the river reported that no open sea lay beyond. Before starting on his return voyage, Hudson invited a party of Indians on board the *Half Moon*, and "gave them much wine and *aqua-vitæ*, that they were all merrie. In the ende one of them was drunke." This celebration marked the beginning of friendly relations between the Iroquois and the Dutch in the very year that Champlain and the French incurred their lasting enmity.

The Dutch Colony of New Netherland. When Hudson reported to his employers the abundance of fur-bearing animals in the region he had explored, they decided that it would be a good place for trading posts and settlements. So a trading company known as the Dutch West India Company was formed to take control of the territory on the Hudson River. The first settlers came to Manhattan Island in 1623, and a few years later Peter Minuit bought the entire island from the Indians for cloth and trinkets worth about twenty-four dollars. Fort Amsterdam was built on the southern extremity of the island, and became the home of the despotic governors who ruled New Netherland. Some of the settlers went to Fort Orange near the present city of Albany, while others spread southward to Delaware and Connecticut. New Netherland did not prosper as a colony. The Dutch West India Company was interested only in the fur trade, and would not spend the money necessary to develop its colony. Moreover, the Dutch had settled on land that had been granted to the London and Plymouth companies by James I; and within half a century, New Netherland was destined to pass under English rule.

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CHAPTER V

EARLY AMERICA — THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The Climate of North America. The early discoverers and explorers learned that the continent of North America was in general outline a huge triangle, with its base in the arctic region, and its apex in the tropics. This meant that the larger part of its area lay in higher latitudes, ruled by a somewhat severe climate. The first colonists naturally supposed that the climate of North America would be like that part of Europe lying in the same latitude. They could not know that the Gulf Stream carries the heat of the Gulf of Mexico away from North America to warm the shores of western Europe. Since the Massachusetts colonists were in the same latitude as southern France, they were surprised to find a winter climate much like that of Norway and Sweden. These cold winters cost the early settlers intense suffering and many lives. In the long run, this rather severe climate was an advantage; the people of New England proved no exception to the rule that colder climates are more likely to develop a hardy and vigorous race.

Area and Waterways. The vast extent of the new continent was another matter of surprise. The early explorers expected to find a land of about the same size as Europe; whereas North America with its 8,500,000 square miles of area was more than twice as large as the continent from which they came. This mistaken notion led to the exploration of rivers like the James, the Hudson, and the St. Lawrence, in search of a northwest passage to Cathay. But although no waterway was found across the continent, there was a splendid network of rivers leading far into the interior. Trappers and fur traders paddled their birch-bark canoes up the courses of these rivers, leading the van of colonization and settlement. Trading posts were usually

established at the head of navigation, as at Hartford on the Connecticut, Albany on the Hudson, and Richmond on the James. From these centers, individual traders pushed still farther west, bartering with the Indians for furs. In this way the traders became the pioneers in the westward movement. They explored the unknown regions, discovered the best means of reaching the interior, and told their countrymen what lands were best suited to settlement.

Forests and Animal Life. The first European settlers found an almost unbroken sheet of forest along the Atlantic coast, and extending westward to the Mississippi. The dense forest was both a hardship and a blessing. Clearing the land in order to plant crops meant the hardest kind of toil; at the same time, it meant a bountiful supply of fuel and building material. Masts for all the shipbuilding countries in Europe were soon being cut from the splendid forests of the new continent; while the New England settlers built ships both for their own use, and for sale in Europe and in the treeless West Indies. Then too, the struggle for existence was made easier by the abundance of forest game, such as deer, elk, wild geese, and turkeys. To the early settlers as to the Indians, the deer was a staple source of food and clothing; and the beaver, otter, sable, and other fur-bearing animals yielded rich returns to the hunter and trapper. Another animal found in large numbers was the buffalo, which roamed in immense herds over the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. The waters of the North Atlantic teemed with codfish, mackerel, and herring; hence fishing soon became one of New England's chief industries.

The Appalachian Barrier and Its Effects. When the first English settlers came to America, they found the Spaniards holding the islands and seas of the south, while the French claimed the St. Lawrence region; so that the English could occupy only the narrow strip of lowland between the Atlantic coast and the Appalachian Mountains. It was really a matter of good fortune that they were long confined to this narrow strip of territory. With a mountain barrier on the west, and with hostile powers at the north and south, the English colonies

became of necessity more compactly settled. Their people tilled the soil, built schools and churches, developed representative governments, and established permanent homes. All this was in sharp contrast with New France, where a few settlers were scattered over a vast area, too large to be successfully defended.

The Routes across the Barrier. More than a century passed after the first settlement at Jamestown before the English

Courtesy of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

Navajo Blanket Weaving

colonists began to push westward through the passes of the Appalachian barrier. At the north, the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk formed a natural highway through this mountain wall; but this route was closed to the early settlers by the Iroquois Indians. A second route was through southern Pennsylvania to the Monongahela, and along its course to the Ohio River; while a third route was by way of the Appalachian Valley to the southwest, and out through the Cumberland

Gap or the valley of the Tennessee into the open country beyond.

This southern route was much used at first, but when better roads were built, the route through Pennsylvania became the great highway. Soon the city of Pittsburgh, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, became the gateway of the West. On reaching the Ohio, the settlers could make the rest of their journey by water, following this river or its branches to their new homes. The beginning of the American Revolution found a host of pioneers crossing the Appalachian Mountains into the Mississippi Valley. These frontiersmen found before them the vast interior plains of the continent, stretching westward for thousands of miles. There was no other barrier to westward expansion except the lofty Rocky Mountains, and farther toward the Pacific, the Sierra Nevada and Coast Ranges.

The Natives of North America. When Columbus discovered the Bahama Islands, he also discovered a race of men unknown to the world before his time. Later explorers found the Indians, as Columbus named the natives, inhabiting the continent and islands of both North and South America. The Indians were usually tall in stature; they had high cheek bones, small, deep-set eyes, and long black hair; their skin was brown or copper colored, so that they are sometimes incorrectly called "Red Men." They did not lead a nomadic life, but occupied fairly definite areas; such migrations as occurred were usually due to the pressure of stronger tribes, or to the desire to find better hunting grounds. When Columbus first landed, about five hundred thousand Indians were living on the North American continent, one half of whom dwelt east of the Mississippi River.

Origin of the Indian Race. Many attempts have been made to explain how a race separate and distinct from any other in the world came to be found in America. Because extensive mounds and earthworks were found in the Mississippi and Ohio river valleys, it was once thought that an earlier people called the "Mound Builders" used to inhabit the continent. These mounds were sometimes raised embankments, sometimes square or circular inclosures, and sometimes earthworks made

to resemble an animal that was held in special veneration. We know to-day that the Mound Builders were not a distinct race of people, but were the ancestors of the Indians themselves. At some very early period, North America was probably peopled from Asia, with which our continent was once connected. So our Indians may be descended from men whose earlier home was in Asia.

Semi-civilized Indian Peoples. In the days of Columbus, the Indians who had made most progress toward civilization were

Hopi Indian Village or Community House

Built on the cliff above the Grand Cañon, Arizona. Note the blankets being woven on the long frames.

the Incas in Peru, the Aztecs in Mexico, and the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. Both the Incas and the Aztecs built stone houses, using tools of stone; they mined gold and silver, and worked these metals over into beautiful ornaments. Great skill was also shown in the manufacture of pottery, and in the carving of wood, stone, and shells. The Incas carried on irrigation, and like the natives of Mexico, had a well-organized system of government. At the time of Pizarro's conquest, their empire extended over Bolivia and Ecuador, as well as Peru.

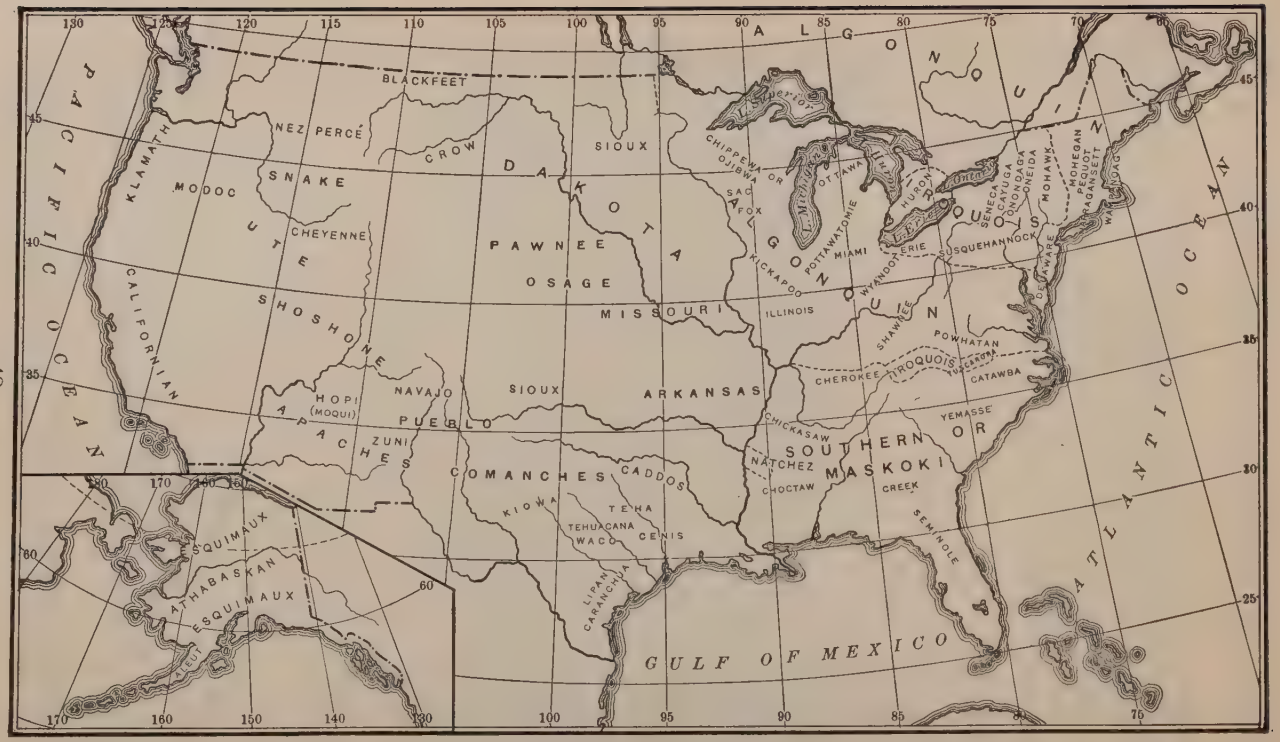
The Pueblo Indians lived in the southwestern part of the

United States, in New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and southern California. The Spanish word *pueblo* means town, and this name was given to the natives because they lived in small towns or villages. Their houses were often several stories in height, and were built of adobe, or of stone laid in clay mortar. Some of the pueblos were located in the plains, while others were placed on lofty heights which could be reached only by steep and difficult trails. Of this latter class were the pueblos in the Colorado region, where the cliff dwellers built their homes on the steep sides of the cañons.

The Indians of Northeastern America. There were three great families of Indians in the region between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean. First, the Algonquin family, which occupied most of the country north of Kentucky, including all of New England and a large part of Canada. Second, the Iroquois, who lived south and east of lakes Erie and Ontario, in the present states of New York, Pennsylvania, and northern Ohio. Third, the Southern or Muskogee Indians, between the Tennessee River and the Gulf of Mexico.

Each of these large groups or families of Indians spoke a common language; each family included numerous tribes, and the tribes were in turn divided into separate clans. The basis of clan unity was kinship, or descent from the same female ancestor. Each clan had its totem, usually some animal by whose name it was known, as *Wolf*, *Bear*, *Fox*, or *Turtle*. Some clans believed that they were descended from this totem, which thus became an object of worship. The clan had two kinds of leaders, a peace ruler or sachem elected by its members, and war chiefs who were chosen because of their individual prowess. There was also a council which included all the adult members of the clan, both men and women. In the same way, the tribe was governed by a tribal council, composed of all the sachems and chiefs within the clan; while some tribes had a head chief, usually one of the sachems who had shown special gifts of leadership.

Food and Clothing. Where game was abundant, as in Canada and west of the Mississippi, the Indians depended



Indian Tribes of North America

The large type indicates the chief Indian families; the small type, the tribes.

chiefly on hunting and fishing. Next to fighting, the Indian loved the chase, and he was the most expert of hunters. Wild ducks and geese were shot with the bow and arrow, or decoyed into a net. The Indian could imitate the gobble of the turkey, or the whistle of birds, and he came upon his prey so stealthily as not to be noticed. Venison was sometimes procured by a skillful maneuver called deer stalking. The Indian put on the head and antlers of a deer, and in this disguise was able to steal up close to his prey. Besides fish and game from the forests, the Indians lived on wild fruits, nuts, acorns, and edible roots. Throughout New England and the South, more attention was paid to agriculture. Maize or Indian corn was the chief crop, but there were also fields of beans, pumpkins, squashes, watermelons, and tomatoes. Domestic animals were lacking; there were no horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, chickens, or even dogs and cats, until after the arrival of the Europeans.

The skins of wild animals furnished the Indian with such clothing as he needed. By way of ornament he wore wampum, or strings of beads made from shells; and sometimes he adorned his head with the glossy feathers of the eagle, one feather for each enemy killed in combat. He often painted his face and body by means of colored earths, either black, red, green, or white, both the color of the paint and the character of the markings having a special meaning.

Indian Houses. The houses of the natives varied with the location and the season. In the woodland, they built tent-shaped lodges of sapling. On the western plains, earth lodges were constructed for winter, while the summer residence was a tepee covered with buffalo skins, so light that it could be easily carried about in the quest for game. A better type of Indian dwelling was the long house of the Iroquois, intended to accommodate several families. These houses were built of a framework of upright poles set in the ground, and covered in with bark shingles. The interior was divided into compartments, six or eight feet square, placed on each side of the house and opening into a common passageway down the center.

These long houses were inhabited by Indians who belonged to

the same clan. Each was presided over by a matron whose authority was absolute in household matters, for among all the Indian tribes there was a strict division of labor between the men and the women. The squaws cared for the lodge, prepared the food, made the clothing and household utensils; while the men devoted themselves to hunting and fishing, and to the manufacture of weapons. The Indian houses were usually grouped together in small villages, which were often entirely surrounded by a stockade of posts as a defense against sudden attack.

A Pueblo Indian of the Santa Clara Reservation Entering a Kiva or Sanctuary Carved Out of the Solid Rock

Although Christianized over 300 years, the Pueblos still perform their ancient rites in these underground chambers.

Indian Warfare. Every Indian boy was trained to become a warrior, for there was almost constant fighting among the different tribes. The child's toys were miniature weapons, and the Indian youth soon became skilled in the use of bow and arrow, and in the hurling of the short spear or javelin. The hatchet or tomahawk was another favorite weapon, being especially useful in the hand-to-hand fighting of forest warfare. Among all the tribes, the military virtues of bravery, strength, and skill were held in the highest esteem; to die in battle was glorious, while the warrior who showed fear was the object of universal contempt. Among many tribes, the warrior's reputation rested upon the number of deeds of special prowess which stood to his credit. The acts which entitled him to distinction were killing and scalping an enemy, being the first to

touch an enemy in combat, rescuing a wounded companion, and stealing a horse from the enemy's camp.

It was a simple matter to inaugurate an Indian campaign. Usually some chief of proven valor would announce his intention of conducting a raid, and call for volunteers to accompany him. Among the better-organized tribes or confederacies, extensive campaigns were decided upon by the tribal or confederate council. Sometimes war would be declared with considerable formality, and notice sent to the enemy by means of wampum belts. Before leaving on the warpath, the warriors would engage

Algonquin Stock, Cheyenne Tribe

Chief Stump Horn and family, showing *travois* or primitive vehicle used by many tribes.

in a dance to arouse enthusiasm; and upon returning from a successful raid, a grand scalp dance was held, the women singing the praise of the warriors as they flourished the scalps about.

The Indians usually aimed to surprise their foe; they often made their attacks in the dead of night, for to take one's enemy at a disadvantage was regarded as the most skillful kind of campaigning. Their warfare was cruel almost beyond belief; the warrior scalped his dead foe, and wore the scalp as a trophy and proof of his prowess; the more scalps he could show at his belt, the greater his skill as a warrior. Captives were tortured with every cruelty that human ingenuity could devise in the hope that

they would display some sign of fear. In the end they were usually killed with the tomahawk or burned at the stake, although sometimes prisoners were enslaved, or adopted as members of the tribe.

Indian Religion. As in the case of most primitive peoples, the Indian worshiped the world of nature about him. He thought that the earth, the sky, and the waters were peopled with mysterious spirits, or manitous. These spirits were both good and evil; they controlled his destiny, so he offered prayers and sacrifices to them. When a man became ill, some bad spirit was troubling him; hence the "medicine man" was held in special veneration, because he alone knew what charms would drive out the unruly spirit. These Indian healers had some rude knowledge of medicinal herbs and other simple remedies; if the patient died in spite of herbs and charms, they explained that it was because the evil spirit was stronger than the spirit which aided the medicine man.

There was always one manitou more powerful than the rest, who was the special benefactor and hero of each tribe. His exploits and adventures formed a circle of myths, handed down from generation to generation, like the legends of King Arthur in early British history. The Indians did not have any clear conception of the one Supreme Being, but they did believe in the existence of a future life. The warrior's bow, his arrows, and his dog were carefully buried with him, for the Indian heaven was a happy hunting ground. Religious ceremonials were often elaborate affairs, which included dancing and the chanting of weird music, feasting and fasting, together with such tests of physical endurance as the sun dance.

Indian Intellect and Character. Although a simple and unpractical race, the Indian was by no means lacking in intellect. He used a language of his own, filled with glowing phrases and figures of speech; and in simple, unstudied eloquence, he sometimes equalled the greatest orators of any race. The Indians of the plains used a series of gestures which formed an intelligible sign language. The more advanced tribes were able to express their ideas by means of pictures, sometimes

Photograph by H. T. Cowling, National Park Booklet, Department of the Interior.

Blackfeet Indian Camp on Two Medicine Lake

Glacier National Park was once their hunting grounds.

painted on skins, sometimes carved on the rocks, or woven in wampum. The Indian was quick to learn the use of firearms, and became an expert marksman. He had a remarkable genius for military tactics and strategy; he was brave in battle, but he stalked his enemy like wild game, and never fought in the open if he could attack from ambush. A cruel and vindictive foe, the Indian was also a generous and hospitable friend. He had a rude sense of honor, and usually kept faith when fairly dealt with. As a scout, he was loyal to a trust in the face of hardship or death itself. Washington was guided through the wilderness to Fort Duquesne by a nameless Indian; while Braddock's army was routed because he would not listen to the advice of his native scouts.

The Indians and the White Settlers. The white men who first came in contact with the Indians were treated with the utmost reverence. But when the natives learned that they could expect only harsh treatment in return, they became the foes of the settlers. The lands occupied by the different tribes were owned as common property, and the chiefs readily gave up the tribal hunting grounds in exchange for a few trinkets. They thought that the colonists would occupy the land for a short time, after which it would be given back to them. When it was seen that the hunting grounds were being permanently held, the inevitable struggle began. In this conflict, the white men won because they were the stronger race, and because the different tribes were constantly fighting among themselves. But in many cases, friendly Indians saved the settlements from attack, and brought supplies of corn to the starving settlers.

The natives obtained from the colonists many new things, such as horses and dogs, cloth, blankets, liquor, and firearms. Horses were especially valuable to tribes like the Sioux, which lived by hunting the buffalo; and the Indians became the most expert riders in the world. But contact with the white man's civilization was fatal to the children of the forest; new diseases, such as tuberculosis, swept them away by thousands, while liquor proved an even more deadly scourge. From the Indians, the colonists first learned of maize, the potato, the use of

tobacco, and the art of making sugar from the sap of the hard maple. It was the native red man who taught the newcomers the habits of birds and wild animals, the portage paths through the wilderness, and the best methods of hunting. Wampum, which the natives used as money, also served the first settlers as a medium of exchange; while the Indian's buckskin clothing, his moccasins, snowshoes, and bark canoes have been used by hunters, explorers, and frontiersmen down to the present day.

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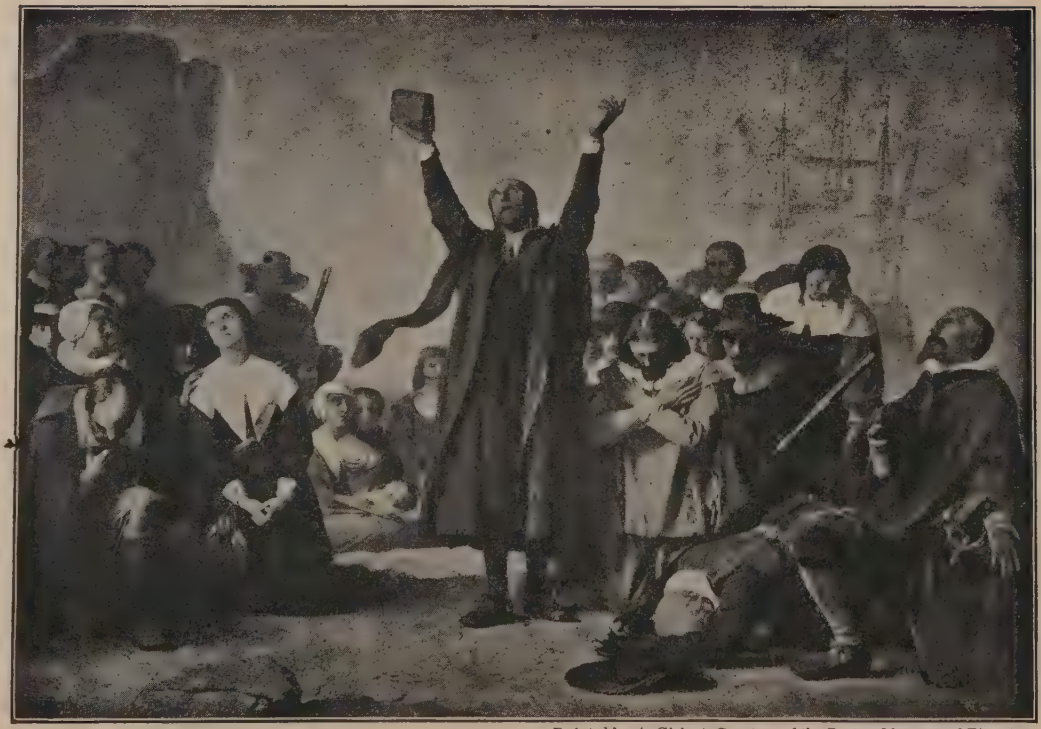
The New Mexico War Memorial Building, at Santa Fé

Built on the site of the historic palace of the Governors (1606), the walls being a part of a prehistoric pueblo.



Painted by A. Gisbert, Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

The Landing of the Pilgrims

The central figure is Elder Brewster. At the extreme right is Governor John Carver.

CHAPTER VI

THE OLD DOMINION

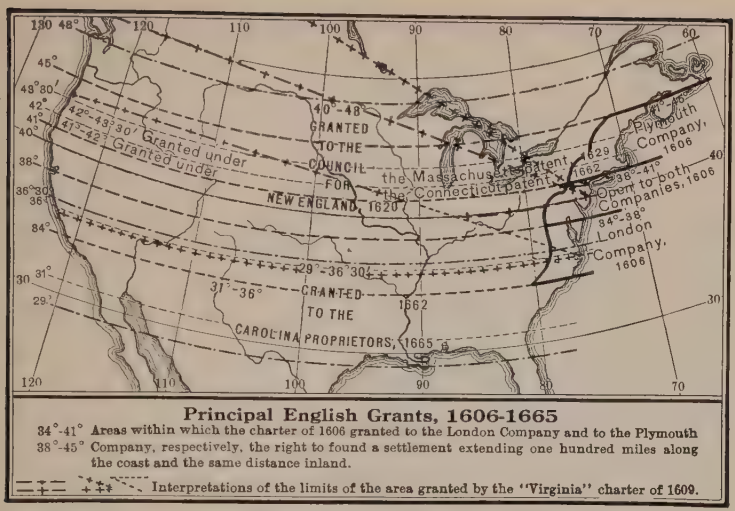
Conditions Favorable to English Colonization. The closing years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were years of increasing luxury in the mansions of the rich, and of increasing misery in the homes of England's poor. During the sixteenth century, the gold and silver from the New World had increased the circulating medium in western Europe threefold. The result was a sharp rise in prices, together with an increasing demand for such luxuries as chimneys and glass windows, rugs and carpets, linen sheets and silken doublets. Rents were higher than ever before, landowners were prosperous, and a surplus of capital awaited investment in any new enterprise which promised large returns. From Mexico and Peru a stream of gold was pouring into the coffers of Spain; might not Virginia prove a like source of wealth for England? The British East India Company was formed in 1600 to develop the far eastern trade; and many of its members soon became interested in the project for a similar company to colonize Virginia.

While the middle and upper classes were growing richer, the poor were growing poorer, another condition which favored colonization. English laborers were in wretched plight, for prices had risen out of all proportion to the increase in wages. In those days, justices of the peace fixed the rate of wages to be paid in each community; if a laborer refused to work at the established rate, he could be arrested as a vagabond and sent to jail. The increased price of wool in the sixteenth century led to a change from agriculture to sheep raising, especially in the midland counties of England. Thousands of agricultural laborers were thrown out of work; and many of them found their way to the cities and towns, where they lived in idleness and want. Then too, the closing of the monasteries in the reign of King

Henry VIII had taken away the livelihood of tenants and laborers on the church lands, while also depriving the poor and friendless of a place of refuge. The end of the wars with Spain increased the number of unemployed men. Apparently only the plague remained to relieve the land of its surplus inhabitants. Under these conditions, the " merrie England " of Shakespeare's day was not a merry place for the English laborer. Small wonder that thousands grasped eagerly at the prospect of finding homes in that Virginia described by Ben Jonson as " a land of enchantment, where gold and silver is more plentifull than copper is with us."

Thus in the opening years of the seventeenth century, three conditions in England were favorable to colonization. There was a surplus of capital seeking investment, a surplus of laborers seeking employment, and a keen desire to plant colonies which should furnish raw materials, such as lumber, iron, and copper, in exchange for the products of England's growing manufactures.

The Virginia Grant, 1606. The failure of Raleigh's expeditions proved that colonization could not be readily carried on by an individual, because of the large expense involved. On the other hand, the success of the East India Company suggested the plan of a similar company of men to undertake the colonization of Virginia. Accordingly, King James issued a patent or charter which formed two companies for the colonization of North America between the 34th and 45th degrees north latitude. The London Company was authorized to plant a settlement called the First Colony in some " fit and convenient place " between the 34th and 41st parallels, or between Cape Fear and the mouth of the Hudson River. The Plymouth Company was granted the right to locate a " Second Colony " somewhere between the 38th and 45th parallels, or between the Potomac River and Halifax. Thus the grants to the two companies overlapped by three degrees. In other words, the land between the Potomac and Hudson rivers (from the 38th to the 41st parallels) was open to settlement by either company, but neither was to plant within one hundred miles of any settlement begun by the other.



Principal English Grants, 1606-1665

34°-41° Areas within which the charter of 1606 granted to the London Company and to the Plymouth
38°-45° Company, respectively, the right to found a settlement extending one hundred miles along the coast and the same distance inland.

Interpretations of the limits of the area granted by the "Virginia" charter of 1609.

The Spanish ambassador protested against this attempt to plant colonies on territory which formed part of the Spanish Indies; but King James replied that he was not aware that Spain had any claim to Virginia. At the north, the grant was likewise in defiance of the French title to Nova Scotia, where a settlement had already been made at Port Royal.

The First Virginia Charter. The plan of government for the new colonies was a very elaborate one. Supreme authority over each colony was vested in a Council for Virginia, appointed by the king from leading men residing in England. A second council of thirteen members was to reside in the colony and manage its local affairs, subject to the direction of the council in England, which in turn was subject to the king.

One important clause of this first Virginia charter declared that the colonists should have all the rights and liberties of English subjects at home. This was in marked contrast to the position of the Spanish and French colonists in the New World, who were regarded as outside the laws and privileges of home dwellers. The English colonist, on the contrary, took with him to the New World all the rights of Englishmen. He carried with him the English common law, with its time-honored safeguards

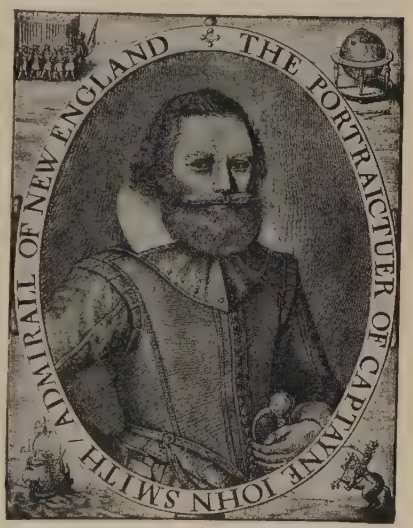
of individual liberty. When difficulties afterwards arose between the colonies and the mother country, the colonists appealed to the principles of the common law, and claimed that the king and Parliament were seeking to deprive them of privileges which were their birthright as Englishmen.

The Founding of Jamestown, 1607. To the London Company fell the honor of planting the first permanent English settlement on American soil. Three small ships bearing one hundred and five colonists passed the Virginia capes on May 6, 1607, and entered Chesapeake Bay. Ascending the broad river which they named the James in honor of their king, the colonists selected their "seating-place" at a point about thirty miles up the river. It was not a favorable site; for Jamestown, as the settlement was called, was on a low peninsula, with malarial swamps all about. A fort was soon constructed, also a church and storehouse; while in the rear a little street was laid out, along which huts were built.

For years the colony had a hard struggle to maintain itself. The Indians were unfriendly from the first, for they no longer regarded the white man as a supernatural being. Exploring for gold was more attractive than planting corn; but the gold turned out to be worthless iron pyrites, and within a few months, famine and disease carried away nearly one half of the settlers. The London Company was unreasonable in its demands for immediate returns from the colonists, many of whom were gentlemen adventurers unaccustomed to hard work and drawn to Virginia by the lure of gold. Then too, the charter provided for a communistic system; everything the settlers produced was placed in a common stock, and all were fed and clothed from the company's storehouse. The water supply was bad, and fever and ague from the swamps cost many lives. Of three hundred colonists sent over during the first three years, only eighty remained alive at the end of that time. The colony seemed on the verge of ruin.

Captain John Smith. Jamestown was saved from this fate by the energy and ability of Captain John Smith, a bold, resourceful man whose gifts of leadership finally made him

President of the Council. Before coming to America, Smith had roamed over many countries of Europe as a soldier of fortune, but here in Virginia he was an example of industry to all. He won the friendship of the neighboring Indian tribes, explored Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, and most important of all, put every one to work at planting corn. "He that will not work shall not eat," was the rule enforced by this strong leader; and his firmness and energy saved the colony from starvation. When the London Company complained of the lack of returns from its struggling colony, Smith replied that they had commenced the work of producing tar, glass, soap, and clapboards, but that all this progressed slowly in a new country. He struck the root of the whole matter when he wrote: "When you send again, I entreat you, send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, rather than one thousand of such as we have."



Captain John Smith

Copied from the original engraving in John Smith's *History of New England, Virginia, and the Summer Isles*, published in 1624.

The Starving Time. In the summer of 1609, Smith was injured by an explosion of gunpowder, and returned to England. The starving time followed, a period of misery without parallel in the history of English colonization. When only sixty colonists remained out of the five hundred who had come to Virginia, it was decided to abandon Jamestown. On their way to the sea, the starving settlers met the newly appointed governor, Lord Delaware, bringing men and supplies. So they turned back to the scene of their suffering, and the colony was

saved. Lord Delaware brought with him a new charter that changed the boundaries of Virginia. The colony was to include the territory two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort, and was to extend up into the continent "from sea to sea, west and northwest." This vague grant was the basis for Virginia's later claim to the country northwest of the Ohio River.

Economic and Social Conditions. Lord Delaware was soon succeeded as governor by Sir Thomas Dale, under whose stern rule Virginia began to prosper. Governor Dale gave a private garden of three acres to each settler, putting an end to the plan under which all were fed from a common storehouse. There was now an incentive to work, and famine never again threatened the colony. The colonists gave up hope of finding gold and silver in the forests of Virginia; but about the year 1616, they found a real source of wealth in the cultivation of tobacco. King James opposed the use of the weed, and wrote against it a *Counterblast to Tobacco;* but it was hard to prevent the cultivation of a plant which brought from three to five shillings a pound in the English market. It soon became the staple crop of the colony; at Jamestown the market place, and even the narrow margin of the streets, was set with tobacco. The new crop meant wealth for the planters and prosperity for Virginia.

Few women had as yet come to Virginia, and one of the great events of the year 1619 was the arrival of ninety maidens, "young, handsome, and well recommended," sent over by the London Company to become wives of the bachelor planters. No suitor was allowed to claim his bride until he had paid the company one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco for her passage. The establishment of English homes in the colony laid the sure foundation of a future state.

Representative Government in Virginia. The year 1619 also marks the beginning of representative government in Virginia. At this time the London Company elected as its treasurer Sir Edwin Sandys, a man who believed in individual liberty and self-government. Through his influence, the governor of Virginia was instructed to hold an election for a legislature or House of

Burgesses, to be composed of two representatives from each borough. The first House of Burgesses met in the little church at Jamestown on July 30, 1619. It consisted of the governor and his six councilors, who sat in the front seats with their hats on, and twenty burgesses who sat in the rear. During a session that lasted for six days, laws were passed " against idleness, gaming, drunkenness, and excesse in apparell;" ordering every householder to plant corn, mulberry trees, flax, hemp, and grapevines; and commanding every one to attend divine service on the Sabbath day.

This first representative assembly had several important results:

(1) From this time on in the history of Virginia, the power of the governor was always somewhat restricted.

(2) This idea of the right of the people to make their own laws soon prevailed throughout the English colonies in America, and later became the basis of our present state and national governments.

(3) From its small beginnings, the House of Burgesses developed great power and influence. It served in the eighteenth century as a training school for such famous leaders as Patrick Henry, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington.

Servants and Slaves. At first the increasing demand for cheap labor on the tobacco plantations was met by bringing over " indentured " white servants. Many of these had given a bond or indenture, binding themselves to work a certain number of years for planters who had advanced their passage money to Virginia. A less desirable class of indentured servants consisted of criminals and vagabonds, sentenced for various offenses to hard labor in the colony. These white servants formed the greater part of the laboring population of Virginia until the close of the seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth century, the white servants were rapidly displaced by another class of laborers. Probably the first negroes to arrive in Virginia were some twenty in number, brought over by a Dutch man-of-war which entered the James River in 1619.

The planters gladly purchased the negroes, who were at first held in temporary servitude like the white servants. Gradually the traffic in negroes increased, and by 1661 their condition became that of permanent slavery. The colonists of the seventeenth century saw no harm in enslaving the negro, and doubtless the Indians of Virginia would also have been made slaves if they had not proved so intractable.

Virginia Becomes a Royal Province, 1624. A firm believer in the "Divine Right of Kings," James I viewed with distrust the growth of popular government in Virginia. He forbade the reëlection of the liberal Sandys as treasurer of the London Company, telling its members "to choose the devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." A terrible Indian massacre in 1622 cost the lives of three hundred and fifty of the colonists. Using this as a pretext, King James secured from the Chief Justice a decision that the Company's charter was forfeited for mismanagement; and in this way the London Company came to an end.

From 1624 until the American Revolution, Virginia remained a royal province, with a governor appointed by the king. Death interfered to prevent King James from carrying out his plan to abolish the House of Burgesses, and his son, King Charles I, allowed this representative body to continue. Thus Virginia furnished the pattern of government sooner or later provided for most of the English colonies. There was a governor and an executive council appointed by the king, and a colonial assembly elected by the people.

Virginia's Loyalty to the King. Charles I soon entered upon the long conflict with Parliament which ended in his death on the scaffold in 1649. England then became a Commonwealth in name, although Oliver Cromwell was in fact dictator under the title of "Lord Protector." The Virginia colonists remained loyal to the Stuart cause in these troubled times, and even invited the son of Charles I to take refuge in the colony. Thousands of Cavaliers, or supporters of the Royalist cause, came over to Virginia. This immigration increased the aristocratic element in the colony, and made Virginia more devoted than

Early Settlements in Virginia

ever to the cause of the king. The colonists at first refused to recognize the Commonwealth government, but a fleet sent over by Parliament compelled them to do so. In return, Virginia was allowed to retain her representative assembly, and the colonists were confirmed in the rights and liberties of free-born persons in England. Affairs at home kept Cromwell busy, and he paid little attention to the distant colony.

Upon the death of Cromwell and the restoration of the monarchy in the person of King Charles II, Virginia hastened to recognize his authority. Sir William Berkeley again became governor, and grew more bigoted than ever in his zeal for the king. A new seal for Virginia bearing the old coat of arms of the London Company was adopted; its motto proudly set forth that Virginia was to rank along with King Charles' other four dominions, namely, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, as a fifth dominion. The people of Virginia were very proud of this distinction, and always referred to their colony as "The Old Dominion."

Berkeley's Rule and Bacon's Rebellion. For sixteen years following the Restoration in 1660, Governor Berkeley ruled Virginia with a high hand. He kept the same House of Burgesses in office for many years without reëlection, and gave his assent to the large taxes which it placed upon the people. Meantime, the colonists were suffering from a steady fall in the price of tobacco, as well as from heavy taxes and bad government. Virginia was on the verge of revolt in 1675; and Berkeley's refusal to put down an Indian uprising, or to permit the colonists to do so, finally led to Bacon's Rebellion.

The governor's private interest in the fur trade was probably responsible for his refusal to punish the Indians, who had murdered two settlers on the frontier plantations. Resolving to protect themselves, the men of Charles City County chose a popular young planter named Nathaniel Bacon to lead them against the savages. Berkeley refused to grant Bacon a military commission, and proclaimed his followers a band of rebels; but Bacon marched into the wilderness with only seventy men, and inflicted a severe defeat upon the Indians. On his return to Jamestown, a conflict between Bacon and the governor ended in the flight of Berkeley and the burning of Jamestown. But in the hour of victory, Bacon died from fever. Berkeley then defeated his followers, and hanged thirteen of them as a warning to all who defied his authority. This cruelty displeased King Charles, who ordered Berkeley back to England.

The rebellion rid the colony of its despotic governor, and enabled the Virginians to place their grievances before the king. A new assembly representing the will of the people was chosen, and it was no longer possible for a few men to use the colony for their own profit. But for many years Virginia was ruled by greedy governors, and the colony was heavily taxed for the royal treasury.

Restrictions on Colonial Trade. There were forty thousand settlers in Virginia by 1670, including six thousand white servants and two thousand negro slaves. Tobacco was the staple crop, yielding about twelve million pounds annually. The low price of tobacco was partly due to over-production, and partly

to the fact that it could only be exported to English ports where the price was fixed by English merchants. This situation was due to the economic policy known as the Mercantile System, which assumed that colonies were planted to increase the trade and manufactures of the mother country. Parliament in 1651 passed a navigation law aimed at the Dutch, who for forty years had been gaining control of the carrying trade of the world. Thereafter no products were to be brought to the colonies, or carried from the colonies to Europe, except in ships of which the owner and a majority of the crew were Englishmen or colonials. This policy of restriction was carried further by later acts. The chief raw materials exported from the colonies, such as sugar, tobacco, cotton wool, and dyewoods, must first be carried to England; while all European exports to the colonies must be sent to England and there unloaded, before they could be shipped to America.

The object of these laws was to give English manufacturers a monopoly of the colonial market both for the purchase of raw materials and for the sale of their own manufactured products. Staunch loyalist as he was, even Governor Berkeley denounced the Navigation Acts as "mighty and destructive; for it is not lawfull for us to carry a pipe stave, or a barrel of corn to any place in Europe out of the king's dominions. If this were for His Majesty's service or the good of his subjects, we should not repine, whatever our sufferings are for it; but on my soul, it is the contrary for both."

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From an old painting.

Bacon's Quarrel with Governor Berkeley

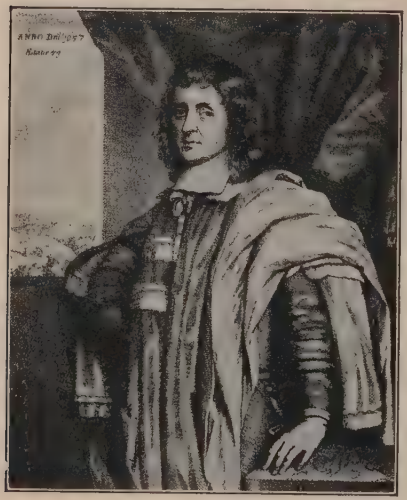
CHAPTER VII

THE OTHER SOUTHERN COLONIES

Lord Baltimore and His Grant. For many years, Catholics as well as Puritans were persecuted in England because they would not attend the Established Church. Nevertheless, Catholic noblemen often found favor with the Stuart kings, one of whom, Charles I, had married a Catholic princess. So when George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, planned to establish an American colony as a place of refuge for his fellow Catholics, he found the king ready to help him. The London Company forfeited its charter in 1624, making it possible for the king to subdivide Virginia's territory. Accordingly, in 1632 King Charles granted to his friend, Lord Baltimore, about twelve thousand square miles of land lying on both sides of Chesapeake Bay. The territory included in the grant covered the present states of Maryland and Delaware, as well as parts of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Baltimore died before he could carry out his plans, but his eldest son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, took up the work.

A New Kind of Colony. The Maryland charter created a new kind of colony. By this charter the king granted his own right to govern to Lord Baltimore, who was to be known as the proprietor or owner of the colony. As a token of his allegiance, Lord Baltimore was to send the king yearly two Indian arrow heads, together with one fifth of all the gold and silver that was mined. As proprietor of the colony, Lord Baltimore had almost absolute control. He could declare war, make peace, appoint officials, pardon criminals, and confer titles; and none of these acts had to be confirmed by the king. But Baltimore had to call the colonists to his aid in making the laws, and he could not tax them without their consent.

The Founding of Maryland, 1633. Lord Baltimore himself never saw the shores of Maryland, yet he proved an energetic and successful proprietor. The first expedition of two hundred colonists sailed for Maryland under the command of Leonard Calvert, Lord Baltimore's brother, who was to act as governor. The place chosen for the settlement was on a small river named the St. George, in honor of the patron saint of England; their first town was called St. Mary's.



Cecil Calvert, the Second Lord Baltimore

From an engraving in the New York Public Library. This portrait shows the dress of an English Cavalier.

The little settlement prospered from the beginning; there was no starving time here, as in Virginia and at Plymouth. Before the first year was over, the people of Maryland were able to exchange a shipload of corn for a cargo of New England codfish. The settlers were thrifty and industrious; for Lord Baltimore took pains to send artisans and laboring men to his colony, instead of adventurers and fine gentlemen like the early Virginia settlers. Tobacco became the leading product, and the people lived on large plantations along the waterways, where English ships might come to load. Hence in Maryland, as in Virginia, there were no large towns.

Representative Government. The charter gave the colonists the right to help make the laws. All the freemen at first met together for this purpose; but since the plantations were far apart, the custom grew up of allowing freemen who could not be present to send their proxies to those who could attend. Finally, instead of sending votes by proxy, a representative was chosen

to express the will of the people of each section. By 1650 Maryland had a representative assembly, as well as a governor and his council, all subject to the general control of the proprietor of the colony.

Religious Toleration. Protestants as well as Catholics came to the colony in large numbers, for Maryland welcomed all who professed faith in Jesus Christ. Lord Baltimore set a noble example to the other colonies by his famous "Toleration Act of 1649" which declared: "No person or persons whatsoever within this Province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be in any way molested in respect to his or her religion." The passing of the Toleration Act was partly due to worldly prudence, since the Puritans were in power in England; but it also reflects the liberal and tolerant spirit of Lord Baltimore. Rhode Island was the only other colony in America founded on the broad principle of religious freedom; to-day this principle is the pride of the entire United States.

Maryland's Boundary Quarrel with Virginia. The Virginia colonists were indignant over the grant to Lord Baltimore of territory that had belonged to them. Long years of dispute followed, especially over the ownership of Kent Island where William Claiborne, a Virginian, had established a trading post within the limits of Baltimore's grant. Claiborne was finally driven off by the governor of Maryland, but this did not end the trouble. During the Civil War in England, the Baltimores took sides with King Charles I. Claiborne and other Virginia traders thought this a good time to attack the Catholic rulers of Maryland. Their forces seized the town of St. Mary's, but the contest ended when Lord Baltimore appointed a Protestant as governor (1648). Six years later, Claiborne and his supporters again overthrew Lord Baltimore's government, and repealed the Toleration Act. In the end, the new ruler of England, Oliver Cromwell, restored Lord Baltimore as proprietor, after which religious toleration again prevailed.

When James II was driven from the throne of England in 1688, the Protestants of Maryland again rose in revolt. The proprietorship was taken away from the Baltimores, and for

some years the colony was under the direct control of the English rulers. Maryland was finally restored in 1715 to the Baltimores, who continued in power until the American Revolution. Nearly a century passed after the first settlement of Maryland before its chief city was founded at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and named Baltimore in honor of the proprietor.

Early Settlements in North Carolina. The large tract of land lying between Virginia on the north and the Spanish settlements on the south was unoccupied for a long time. The first settlers were adventure-loving Virginians who came to explore the country to the southward. The House of Burgesses issued permits to any colonists who wished to trade with the Indians in this region, and a little group of Virginians settled near the waters of Albemarle Sound. Some men from New England tried to plant a colony at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, but they soon gave up in despair and left the place to be occupied by settlers from Barbados. These were the beginnings of what was to develop into the colony of North Carolina.

The Proprietors of the Carolinas. Soon after he came to the throne, King Charles II gave to eight of his favorites the immense tract of land south of Virginia in which these settlements were made. These men were to be the proprietors of the colony, like Lord Baltimore in Maryland. So the Carolinas became a proprietary colony, differing from Maryland chiefly in having eight proprietors where Maryland had but one. The proprietors were to make laws with the consent of the people of the colony. They could sell lands, collect rents, appoint officials, and grant titles of nobility. The proprietors promptly set to work to make a settlement. The first colonists reached the Carolina coast in 1670. They settled on the Ashley River, afterwards moving to the site where the city of Charleston now stands. Many French Protestants or Huguenots came to Charleston about ten years later. They had been driven from their mother country by religious persecution, and proved thrifty and intelligent settlers.

The Southern Colonies

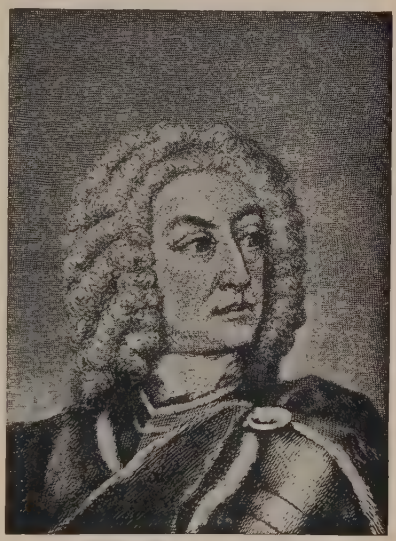
Near the headwaters of the principal rivers, the colonists established a chain of forts to protect the frontier. General Oglethorpe founded his colony despite Spanish claims to the coast as far north as Charleston. After erecting Fort Frederica at the southern extremity of his charter limit, he maintained small posts at Forts William, St. Andrew, and St. George to combat Spanish claims.

The proprietors planned to govern their colony by an elaborate constitution unsuited to frontier conditions. It provided for a feudal system, under which a few men were to own the land and govern it without the coöperation of the people. The sturdy Carolina pioneers would not submit to such a plan, and in the end the proprietors granted them a share in the government, with an elective assembly as in the other colonies.

The Carolinas Become Royal Colonies, 1729. The Carolina settlers had to contend against many difficulties. The Spaniards on the south were hostile, as were also the Indian tribes in their midst. Another danger was from the pirates who hovered along the seacoast; they plundered vessels, levied tribute, and made themselves at home in the Carolina ports. In all of these conflicts, the settlers had almost no support from the proprietors, with whom they had a standing quarrel. Finally, the proprietors gave up the task of government, and sold their colony to the king. The territory was then divided into two colonies, North and South Carolina, each with its own governor appointed by the king, and an assembly chosen by the people.

The People and Their Industries. North and South Carolina differed from one another in their industries. In South Carolina, rice and indigo were the chief products. The cultivation of rice called for large plantations and slave labor. The planters lived in Charleston, leaving their estates in charge of overseers; and this city soon became the center of social life in the South. North Carolina relied more upon the export of tar and turpentine. Instead of owning large plantations, her settlers lived upon small farms. Slaves were never very numerous in this colony, while in South Carolina they soon outnumbered the white settlers. Large numbers of Quakers made their homes in North Carolina, besides many Scotch-Irish, who were driven to America by the unfriendly laws passed by the British Parliament. Later, some Germans from Pennsylvania settled in the mountain valleys; and about 1745, large numbers of Scotch Highlanders came to the colony after their unsuccessful rebellion against the English king.

Oglethorpe's Plan to Relieve English Debtors. Georgia, the youngest of the English colonies in America, was planted one hundred and twenty-five years after the first settlement at Jamestown. Its founder was General James Edward Oglethorpe, a gallant soldier who had been elected to Parliament. As chairman of a committee to investigate English prisons, Oglethorpe found conditions very bad. Honest men were often arrested for a debt of a few dollars which they were unable to pay. They were held in foul jails until their health gave way, while their families were left to struggle as best they could. Deeply moved by what he saw, Oglethorpe suggested the plan of taking the debtors out of jail, and sending them to a colony in America where they might begin life over again.



James Edward Oglethorpe

Georgia a Barrier Colony. Oglethorpe won the support of many clergymen as well as members of the nobility for his enterprise. Among the former were John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the Methodist religion. He prevailed also upon the merchants of London and upon Parliament to help pay the debts of those who were willing to emigrate to the New World. The English government was favorable to the plan, for Oglethorpe proposed to plant his colony south of the Carolinas, to serve as a barrier against the Spanish power in Florida. The new colony was named in honor of King George II; it included all the land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, and extending from their source westward to the Pacific Ocean. The charter created a proprietary government, but the owners were not to

have such large powers as the proprietors of Maryland or the Carolinas. Slavery was prohibited, and it was decreed that foreigners should have equal rights with Englishmen. Oglethorpe was to be the governor, and he promptly placed himself at the head of the first band of settlers.

The trustees could not send to Georgia the multitude of people who wished to take advantage of the promise of free passage and free lands. About thirty-five families were finally selected, and early in 1733 they settled at Savannah on lands secured by treaty with the Creek Indians. Augusta was established two hundred miles up the Savannah River as a frontier trading station, and Fort Frederica was built at the mouth of the Altamaha as an outpost against the Spaniards. The colony did not prosper at first, for the early poverty-stricken refugees were not the men to build up a successful colony. German Protestants and Scotch Highlanders afterwards came over in large numbers, furnishing a more desirable class of settlers. The silk industry was introduced but soon abandoned, for the production of rice and indigo proved more profitable. The trustees gave up their rights in 1752, and from this time on Georgia was a royal colony. Oglethorpe led several expeditions against St. Augustine; but although he failed to capture this post, he was able to defeat an attack by the Spaniards upon Fort Frederica. So until the Revolution, Georgia served its purpose as a barrier between the English colonies and the Spaniards in Florida.

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William and Mary College, Williamsburg

The merchants of London pledged the money to found this college. The charter and seal were granted by King William, February 8, 1693, and the original building was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the great English architect.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

Establishing a National Protestant Church in England. Until late in the reign of King Henry VIII, England remained a Roman Catholic country, loyal to the Pope as supreme head of the church. But when the Pope refused to grant King Henry a divorce, that monarch broke off relations with Rome, and declared himself the supreme head of the Church of England. This act marked the beginning of Protestantism in England, but at first there was little change from the religious doctrines of the old church. Indeed, three Englishmen out of four were still Catholic at heart when Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII, came to the throne (1558). But the new Church of England made steady progress during Elizabeth's reign. The Catholic king of Spain sent a mighty fleet against England in 1588, and the Pope declared him the rightful ruler of that country. This united Englishmen in a common cause against the invader; it became more and more difficult for Catholics to continue faithful to their religion and still remain loyal subjects of Queen Elizabeth.

Origin and Ideals of the Puritans. Some members of the new Church of England wished to do more than merely deny the authority of the Pope. These reformers, or Puritans as they came to be called, wished to purify the Church of England by doing away with some of its ceremonies. They objected to making the sign of the cross in baptism, they were opposed to the use of the ring in marriage, they disliked the wearing of the surplice by clergymen. Then, too, the Puritans wanted more preaching in the church service, and less reading from the Book of Common Prayer. We must not imagine that the Puritan movement was merely a quibble about religious

forms. In an age when corruption and immorality were common, the Puritans insisted upon purer living, upon a higher standard of morality. In government, too, the influence of the new movement was felt; for the Puritans stood for the rights of the people, as opposed to the absurd Stuart doctrine of the "Divine Right" of kings.

The reformers at first did not plan on a church of their own, but only to purify the Established Church. But the bitter persecution by Elizabeth and her successor, James I, drove thousands of Puritans out of the church, forcing them to worship by themselves. In time many Puritans became Independents or Separatists; they wished to separate entirely from the Church of England, and form churches of their own. There ought to be no connection between the churches and the government, said the Separatists. These men had caught a vision of the future, for our American government was afterwards founded on this very principle of a complete separation of church and state.

The Puritan

The original statue by Augustus St. Gaudens is in Springfield, Mass.

The Separatists Seek Refuge in Holland. To deny that the English king is the supreme head of the church was treason; so the reformers were fined, jailed, and persecuted without mercy. King James said: "I will make the Puritans conform,

or I will harry them out of this land, or worse." The king was as good as his word; he could not make the Puritans accept his religion, but he forced many of them to seek refuge in foreign lands. This was true of the little band of Separatists who lived at Scrooby, a country village in the north of England. About 1608 this congregation fled to Holland, then the only country in Europe that opened its doors to all Christians of whatever creed. The Scrooby emigrants settled at Leyden, about twenty miles from Amsterdam. They lived there for nearly twelve years, working industriously in the woolen manufactures for which Leyden was famous.

Toward the end of this period, the exiles began to think of a second migration. They had been well treated in Holland, but they saw their children marrying into Dutch families, and fast losing their English speech and ways. Then, too, it was hard for them to earn a living at manufacturing, for they were bred to a simple country life. Moreover, the times were stormy in the Netherlands; the twelve years' truce with Spain was nearing a close, and Holland was making ready for another deadly struggle with her bitter foe. There was but one country where the exiles might worship God in their own churches, and still bring up their children as Englishmen. That place was America.

The Pilgrims Come to America. The mild climate and fertile soil of Virginia were known to the Leyden settlers, and they hoped to locate near the Virginia colony. So they asked the London Company for permission to settle somewhere on the Delaware River. The London Company promised them land, but their efforts to secure a charter from James I were in vain. The best they could get from that narrow-minded king was a vague promise that he would not molest them "so long as they lived peaceably." English merchants agreed to lend them the money needed for the voyage. In return, everything produced by the colonists for a period of seven years was to be placed in a common stock, and afterwards divided according to the amount invested by each person.

A small ship, the *Speedwell*, brought part of the Leyden

congregation to Southampton in July, 1620. Here there was a month of delay; but at last the Pilgrims, as we may now call them, set sail for America in two small ships. The *Speedwell* belied her name, for she soon sprung a leak, and the party turned back to Plymouth Harbor. Alone, the *Mayflower* finally started across the Atlantic, with one hundred and two men, women, and children on board. The voyage was a stormy one, lasting for nine dreary weeks. Driven northward out of their

Plymouth Rock as It Appears To-day

course, the Pilgrims at last saw before them the low sandy coast of Cape Cod. It was far from the Delaware region to which they were bound; but after a month spent in exploring the coast, a party led by Captain Miles Standish chose Plymouth as the site for their colony (December 21, 1620). This exploring party probably landed on or near the large bowlder since called Plymouth Rock. On December 26, a favorable wind enabled the *Mayflower* to sail across the bay and cast anchor in Plymouth Harbor. There was no landing of the

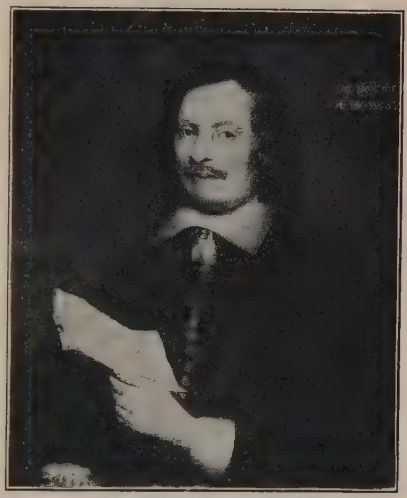
Mayflower company as a whole; and most of the colonists lived on board the ship during the winter, while cabins were being built on shore.

The Mayflower Compact. About a month before their arrival at Plymouth, the little company met in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, and drew up an agreement for their government. This was necessary because they were about to settle far north of the land granted them by the London Company, a fact which led a few unruly spirits to question the authority of the Pilgrim elders. The "Mayflower Compact" declared first, that those who signed it were loyal subjects of King James of England; second, that for the general good of the colony, they would make such just and equal laws as might prove necessary, to which every one promised due obedience. As the king of England repeatedly refused to grant a charter, Plymouth Colony was governed for seventy years under this compact. Each year the men of the colony met together in what was called a "town meeting" to discuss needed laws, to tax themselves, and to elect their governor. Nothing could be more democratic than this plan of local self-government. It was the beginning of the famous town-meeting system that soon spread throughout New England.

Life in Plymouth Colony. In the early days of the Pilgrim settlement, there was almost constant hunger. Fish and game were abundant; but being unused to fishing and hunting as well as to other sports, the Pilgrims starved in the midst of plenty. They planted corn, but the harvest was not large enough. Since there could be no private ownership of land for seven years, there was no reward for the industrious colonist; every one was fed and clothed from the common stock, without regard to his capacity or industry.

Hunger and sickness claimed one half of their number during that first terrible winter. Yet when the *Mayflower* sailed for England the following spring, not one of the little band went with her. It was soon found necessary to abandon the plan of owning the land in common. A parcel of land was granted to each family for its own use; as a result, every one set to work

planting corn. In spite of this new spirit of industry, the dry summer and hot sun made the corn wither and turn brown. In this time of despair, the devout spirit of the Puritan asserted itself. A day was set aside "to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer." The answer was a refreshing rain, and in the end there was a full harvest. "For which mercy," wrote the pious Governor Bradford, "they also set apart a day of thanksgiving."



Edward Winslow

From the only authentic portrait of a *Mayflower* Pilgrim.

Friendly Relations with the Indians. Brave Captain Miles Standish, whose fame has been sung by Longfellow, was the Pilgrim leader in arms. He was the head of every exploring party, a sure bulwark against Indian attacks. Fortunately for the colonists, most of the Indians in this region had been swept away by a deadly scourge, probably the smallpox. Then, too, the settlers had the aid of a friendly Indian named Squanto. Once carried captive to England, Squanto knew the white man's language and could act as interpreter. He showed the Pilgrims how to plant corn, taught them to hunt and to fish, helped them get furs and other supplies from the natives. In the spring after their arrival, the colonists were honored by a visit from Massasoit, the war chief of a tribe living southward from Plymouth. With Massasoit the Englishmen made a treaty of friendship and alliance. It was agreed that neither the red men nor the white should injure one another; and if any wrong was done, the offender should be punished. This treaty was faithfully kept by both parties for more than half a century.

Government of Plymouth Colony. Other settlers came from Leyden and from England. At first they brought no supplies of any kind, so there were only more hungry mouths to be fed. But the new arrivals did bring willing hands; they brought, too, the heroic Puritan spirit which neither starvation, nor disease, nor royal persecution could conquer. Slowly but surely these sturdy Pilgrims laid the solid foundation of a permanent colony, the second English colony in America. At the end of the first ten years, there were only three hundred colonists in Ply-

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Plymouth in 1622

Leyden Street with the Common House at the left and Winslow's at the end of the row. All are made of hewn logs, with roofs of thatch and windows of oiled paper. The fireplaces were made of stones laid in clay, and the chimneys stood outside the walls. The stockade with cannon "to flank along the streets" incloses Governor Bradford's house.

mouth; but after the founding of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth gained many settlers from her neighbor. By the year 1643, Plymouth Colony comprised ten towns, with a total population of three thousand settlers. The town of Plymouth, the site of the first settlement, remained the center of the colony. The governor lived here, and here the colonial assembly met; for as population grew, representative government was introduced, as in Virginia. The king had refused to give them a

charter, but the Pilgrims finally received a grant of land from the "Council for New England." Plymouth had only a short history as a separate colony, for in 1691 it was joined with the larger and more prosperous colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose beginnings we are now to trace.

The Divine Right of Kings. When Charles I came to the throne after the death of his father, King James, the people of England began to realize that the Stuart kings would all prove to be tyrants. It had been a favorite maxim of James I that kings ruled by Divine Right; that is, kings were chosen by God to rule over other men, and their subjects owed them a blind, unquestioning obedience. King Charles did not talk so much about this Divine Right theory, but he put it into practice. When Parliament dared to oppose his will, the king dismissed that body and ruled for eleven years without once consulting the wishes of his people. His chief adviser during this period was the Bishop of London, William Laud, who counseled the king to persecute all persons who would not accept the state religion. Fines, imprisonment, the pillory, torture, — these were the means on which Laud relied to maintain the Established Church, and to crush out freedom of thought. It was an evil day for Dissenters, whether Separatists or Puritans; and the result was a great exodus of Puritans out of England to the New World.

The Massachusetts Bay Company. In 1628 a group of Puritans under the leadership of John Endicott obtained a patent from King Charles giving them certain lands in America. Their grant was only about sixty miles from north to south, lying between the Charles and Merrimac rivers; but it extended westward to the Pacific Ocean, then thought to be not far from the Hudson River. Endicott, with some fifty or sixty settlers, reached the shore of Massachusetts Bay in September, 1628, and founded the town of Salem.

Meantime, other Puritans in England were making ready to join their comrades in Massachusetts. They were anxious to obtain a charter from the king, and the next year, 1629, Charles I chartered the "Governor and Company of Massa-

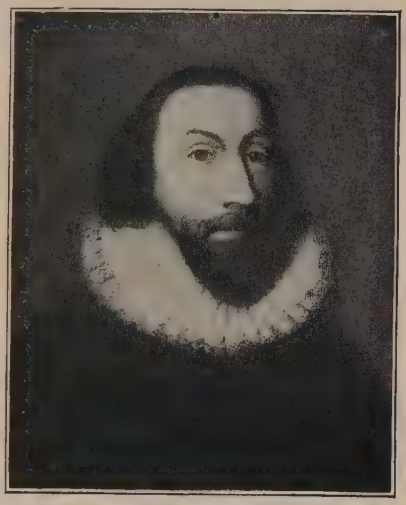
chusetts Bay in New England." This charter was a very liberal one. The company could govern the colony almost as it pleased, except that no laws were to be passed contrary to the laws of England. The members were to meet each year for the purpose of electing a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, who had general charge of the company's affairs. Four times a year, members of the company were to meet with these officers in a General Court to make laws for the colony. The meeting place of the company was not mentioned in the charter, but it was soon decided that it should be in Massachusetts, where the colony was to be established. In other words, the charter was to be taken to America, and the government of the colony placed in the hands of the colonists themselves.

The Great Emigration. About 1630 began the "Great Emigration" of sturdy, liberty-loving Puritans from England to the shores of Massachusetts. Besides the tyranny of the king and the desire to worship in their own churches, other causes swelled the number of emigrants. England was thought to be overcrowded with people; so much so, wrote Winthrop, that "children, . . . especially if they be poor, are counted the greatest burdens, which if things were right would be the chiefest earthly blessing. Across the broad Atlantic the Lord has provided a whole continent for the use of man; why should it longer lie waste without any improvement?"

The Puritan leader in this enterprise, now elected governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, was John Winthrop, an ambitious, scholarly man, who also had good business ability. Winthrop sailed for Massachusetts in 1630, with eleven ships and nine hundred colonists. After some exploration of the coast, he chose Boston as the site for the Puritan colony. The first winter here, like that earlier one at Plymouth, was a time of intense cold and suffering. Before December, hunger and exposure had claimed two hundred of their number as victims. At length supplies and more settlers arrived from England, and the colony began to prosper. Nearly four thousand people were living on or near the shore of Massachusetts Bay by 1634. Besides Boston, the capital of the colony, there were

some twenty towns or villages, including Charlestown, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury, Lynn, and Watertown.

Government of Massachusetts Bay Colony. The colony was ruled at first by Governor Winthrop, aided by his deputy and the assistants. As the number of people and settlements increased, a change was necessary to meet new conditions. When a tax was levied for a fortification at Newtown, the inhabitants of Watertown refused to pay their share on the ground that they were not represented in the General Court. As a result of Watertown's protest, it was decided that each settlement should send two representatives or deputies to meet with the governor and his assistants. The deputies and assistants at first met together, as a single body. But the deputies were more democratic than the assistants, with whom they often disagreed. Finally, in 1644 it was arranged that deputies and assistants should meet separately, as an upper and a lower house of the legislature. This was the beginning of the two-house plan now followed in all of our state legislatures, as well as in Congress.



John Winthrop

Portrait by Van Dyck in the State House, Boston.

Local Town Government. In the meeting house the people came together both to worship God and to transact public business. Here, as at Plymouth, the freemen in town meeting decided what taxes should be levied and by whom paid; how those who broke the laws should be punished; together with many other matters both of public and private concern. The town meeting elected the local officers, the

selectmen who had charge of the general business of the town; constables to keep order; cowherds to take the cattle to the common pasture; swineherds to drive the swine to their feeding-place; a pound keeper to catch stray beasts and keep them safe until claimed by the owner, — a man for each simple duty. Three things should be remembered concerning the town government of Massachusetts: (1) It was democratic, carried on directly by the people themselves; (2) it regulated every matter of local concern; (3) it was the type of local government copied throughout New England, and afterwards carried into the West by men from New England.

Religious Intolerance. Delegates to the General Court were elected by the freemen who belonged to the Puritan churches, for in early Massachusetts only church members were permitted to vote or hold office. Smarting under the memory of their recent persecution, the Puritans became persecutors in turn. Men were fined, whipped, or banished from the colony for speaking against the church or the government. These people had come to America not to establish a colony where every one might worship as he pleased, but to found a Puritan state of which the Puritan church should be the cornerstone. By excluding members of the Church of England from their colony, the Massachusetts Puritans placed themselves in conflict with King Charles and his advisers, who were striving to crush Puritanism at home. At last the king brought matters to a climax. His judges declared the Massachusetts charter forfeited, and ordered the government of the colony placed in the hands of the king himself. The decree was never carried out. The Civil War in England between Charles I and his Parliament saved the colony from the loss of its charter; and when the war ended, the House of Stuart no longer ruled England.

The Struggle for Freedom of Thought. It was a simple matter to provide by law that only members of the Puritan church should have a voice in the government of the colony. It was also easy to punish those who protested against this union of church and state. What the Puritan leaders could not

do was to prevent men from thinking and saying that this union of church and state was wrong and unjust. The cause of freedom of thought found two famous champions. A quick-witted Welshman, Roger Williams, alarmed the elders by declaring that church and state ought to be separated, that no one should be compelled to attend religious services, and that it was wrong to require unbelievers to swear an oath of fidelity to the colony.

Roger Williams

Founder and President of The Providence Plantations, 1654–1657.

Williams had spent much time among the Indians, teaching them the Word of God. He said that the soil of the New World belonged to them, and that the settlers could obtain a valid title to it only by purchase, instead of by a grant from the king. A serious dispute at once arose. The Puritan leaders feared that the king, who was already inclined to take away their charter, might hear of this bold denial of his authority. Williams was ordered to return to England in 1636; but instead of obeying, he fled to the woods and took refuge with his Indian friends. Another dissenter, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, was likewise teaching new religious doctrines and boldly criticizing the magistrates. She, too, was banished.

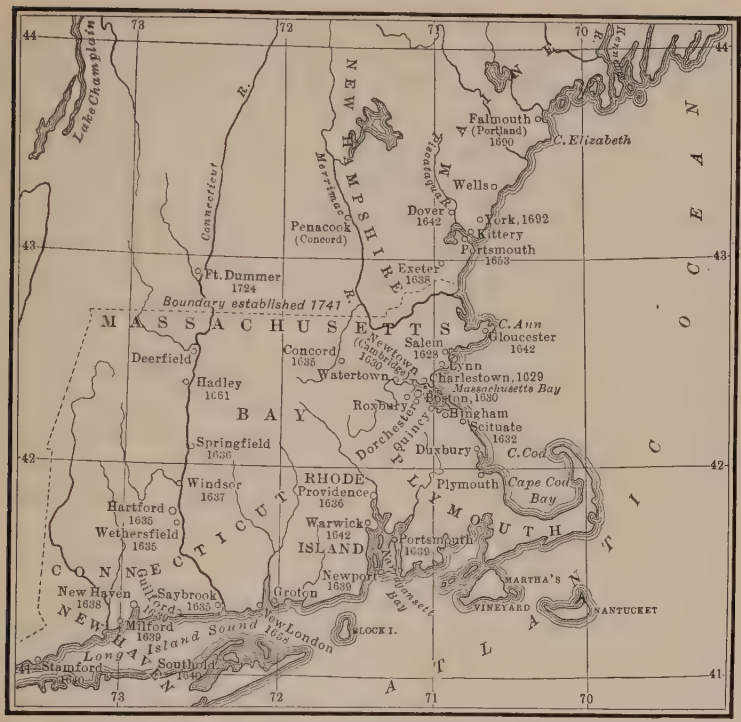
The Founding of Rhode Island, 1636. Roger Williams made his way to Narragansett Bay, at the head of which he founded Providence. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers also fled south, and purchased from the Indians the island which bore the name of Aquedneck. Here two settlements were made, Portsmouth and Newport; while the town of Warwick was founded soon afterwards. Roger Williams secured from Parliament a patent uniting the four towns, Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick, under the title of "Providence Plantation in Narragansett Bay in New England." Rhode

Island grew rapidly, because it was the one colony in New England that tolerated every form of religious belief. In our colonial history, Rhode Island stands for freedom of thought, a fact commemorated by the statue in the city of Providence bearing this simple inscription: "Roger Williams — Soul Liberty, 1636."

The Founding of Connecticut. By this time many people in Massachusetts had become dissatisfied with the undemocratic government which permitted none but church members to vote. Some of them decided to leave the colony and, hearing "of the fame of the Conightecute River, they had a hankering mind after it." Windsor and Wethersfield were settled by the first emigrants. Next the whole Newtown congregation, led by its pastor, Thomas Hooker, moved to the banks of the Connecticut and founded Hartford. Others followed until eight hundred people were living in the three settlements of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.

These towns were at first part of Massachusetts, but one day Thomas Hooker delivered an eloquent sermon in which he said that the consent of the governed is necessary in every state. Accordingly, the inhabitants of the three towns met at Hartford, and drew up a document creating a government of their own. This constitution was called "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut"; it is the first example in our history of a written constitution drawn up by the people for their own government (1639).

The New Haven Colony. Another colony was forming on the north shore of Long Island Sound while the Connecticut towns were having their beginnings. A group of London Puritans reached Boston in 1637, while on their way to found a colony. The Boston settlers gave them a hearty welcome, but the newcomers wanted to have a colony of their own. They found a favorable site on Long Island Sound, and established the colony of New Haven. Its government was based on a strict reading of the Scriptures, and so New Haven is sometimes called "the Bible Commonwealth." None but church members could vote, and the church officials were the magistrates of



The New England Colonies

the colony. Milford and Guilford were settled in 1639, and the town of Stamford was begun the next year. These towns were afterwards united under the name of the "Colony of New Haven." The king refused to grant a charter, and some twenty years later, the colony was joined to Connecticut.

The New England Confederation. The first step toward a union of the English colonies came in 1643. At this time a threefold danger threatened them: the hostility of the Indians in Connecticut, the spread of the Dutch settlements along the Hudson, and the activities of the French fur traders on the north. At last four of the New England colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, decided to form a union for their mutual defense. The name of their

league or confederation was "The United Colonies of New England." Each colony was to control its own domestic affairs, as before; but a board of eight commissioners, two from each colony, was to have charge of matters that concerned them all, such as carrying on war. The New England Confederation is important in our history because it was the first attempt at union among the colonies. It showed them the value of acting together, and served as a precedent for later plans of colonial union. The Confederation lasted for forty years, and carried the colonies through King Philip's War, the most dangerous Indian conflict of colonial times.

Indian Wars in New England. The first serious conflict between the white settlers of New England and the Indian tribes came in 1634, when the Pequots of Connecticut went on the war path. This uprising ended in a defeat so crushing that the Indians were quiet for the next forty years. But at length a new generation of Indians, trained in the use of firearms, determined to stop the steady invasion of their hunting grounds. The native tribes of New England were in a sad plight. The white settlers were constantly pressing inland from the sea-coast, destroying the forests and killing the game; while the hostile Iroquois barred the gateway to the interior of the continent.

At last King Philip, chief of the Wampanoag Indians, united the tribes of southeastern New England in a life and death struggle against the colonists (1675–1677). It was a war of murder and pillage, without quarter on either side. Thirteen towns were burned to ashes, growing crops were destroyed until famine threatened the settlers, and one tenth of New England's fighting men were slain. In the end, the superior training of the white man made itself felt. King Philip was killed, his followers were hunted down without mercy, and the Indian power in New England was broken for all time.

New Hampshire and Maine. The Plymouth Company, which had been granted the New England coast in 1607, failed to make a permanent settlement. This territory was afterwards granted to a new company, called the "Council for New

England." The principal men interested were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason. The Council for New England did little by way of settlement, but gave most of its land to private individuals. In this way, Gorges and Mason were granted the territory lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. These two landholders divided their property in 1629. Mason took the territory between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers, which he named New Hampshire, and Gorges took the remainder, which he called Maine. Massachusetts claimed all of this territory under her charter, and when Gorges died she promptly annexed the Maine settlements. New Hampshire was peopled largely by emigrants from neighboring colonies; and upon the death of Mason, it was also annexed to Massachusetts. The district of Maine remained a part of Massachusetts throughout the colonial period, and even after the formation of the United States; but New Hampshire became a separate colony in 1679, and was independent of Massachusetts from that time on.

Charters for Connecticut and Rhode Island. Connecticut had been almost as prompt as Virginia in acknowledging Charles II when he was brought back to rule England after Cromwell's death. On the other hand, New Haven had offended the king by sheltering two of the judges who had condemned his father to death. Charles II punished New Haven by uniting it with Connecticut under a charter granted to that colony in 1662. About the same time, Roger Williams secured a charter for Rhode Island which provided that no one should be molested "for any difference in opinion in matters of religion."

The Tyrannical Rule of Andros. When James II, last and worst of the Stuart kings, came to the throne, he determined to do away with the free governments which the people had created in New England. To do this he would have to get control of the colonial charters. The courts of England had already declared the Massachusetts charter forfeited, and the king planned to take away the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island. As the first step, he sent over Sir Edmund Andros to act as governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Hamp-

shire, and Maine. Soon afterwards, New York and New Jersey were placed under his rule. The new governor ruled with a high hand, a tyrant in America just as King James was trying to be in England. The colonial legislatures, the local town meetings, even the courts were abolished, until the colonists saw themselves without any control over their government.

Andros next demanded the surrender of the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut. But his arbitrary rule was cut short, for in 1689 the news came that James II had been driven from his throne. The people of Boston at once rose against Andros, who was imprisoned, then sent back to England. So the English Revolution, as it was called, proved that neither the king nor his governor could place himself above the law. Most of the colonies regained their old charters, but Massachusetts received a new one which made it a royal province. The governor was to be appointed by the king, with power to veto any measure not to his liking. Voters were no longer required to be church members, and all religious sects were tolerated. Plymouth and Maine were annexed to Massachusetts, which was governed under this charter until the Revolution.

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Pine Tree Shillings

CHAPTER IX

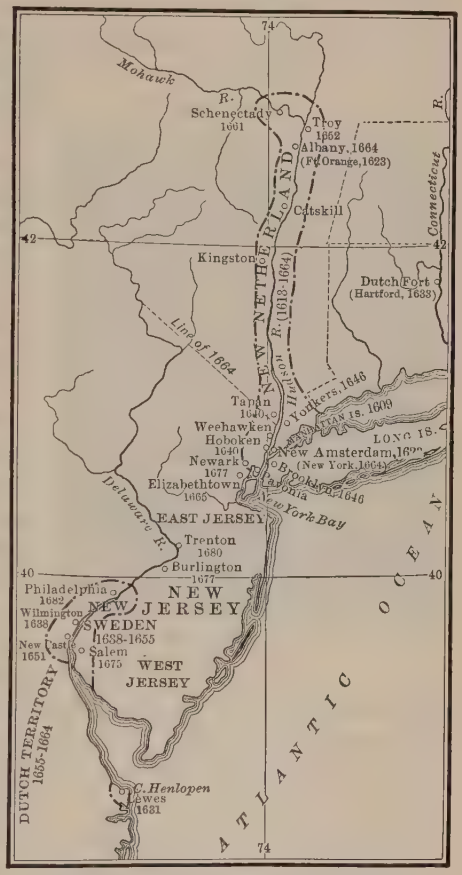
THE MIDDLE COLONIES

The Dutch Colony of New Netherland. New Netherland, the territory claimed by Holland from the discoveries of Henry Hudson, embraced all the country between the Delaware and Connecticut rivers. France and England also laid claim to this region; but the southward advance of the French was checked by the Iroquois Indians, while the struggling New England colonists were at first in no position to drive out the Dutch fur traders. Holland gave a monopoly of the trade of New Netherland, as well as the control of its government, to the Dutch West India Company, a commercial company more interested in the fur trade than in building up a permanent colony. Peter Minuit, the second governor sent over by the company, bought the island of Manhattan from the Indians, and built Fort Amsterdam on the present site of New York City. This soon became an important trading post, as well as the home of the Dutch governors of New Netherland.

From the first, the Dutch were on friendly terms with the powerful Iroquois Indians, who were the bitter enemies of the French because of their defeat at the hands of Champlain. This friendship had far-reaching results in American history; for when the English afterwards seized New Netherland, they also won the good will of the Iroquois. These warlike tribes then formed a living barrier between the English settlements toward the south and the French of the St. Lawrence region.

The Patroon System. The profitable traffic in furs brought many traders to New Netherland, but few permanent settlers. In order to attract a farming class of people, the Dutch West India Company finally decided to establish a system of landed estates called patroonships. Any member of the company

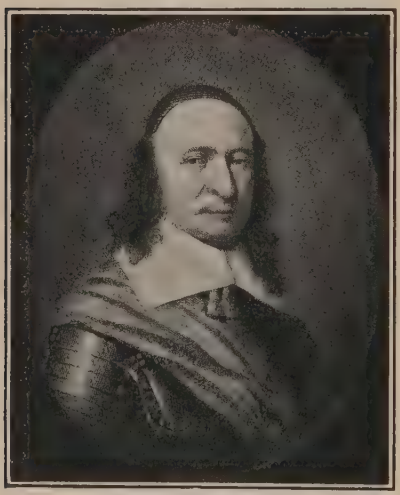
who would bring fifty settlers into the colony was to be given a large tract of land along the Hudson River. Each patroon had complete control over his estate and the people living on it. They could not hunt or fish without his consent; they could not weave linen or cotton cloth; they must sell their crops to the patroon, and grind their grain at his mill. The patroon system was modeled on the plan of landholding that prevailed in Holland, but it did not prove popular in America. In Europe the feudal system was dying; it could not be transplanted to the soil of the New World.



New Netherland and New Sweden

Difficulties of the Dutch Governors. Unlike their English neighbors, the people of New Netherland had no control over their government. They elected no local officers, nor did they choose a legislature to help make the laws. Instead, all powers were exercised by the governor appointed by the Dutch West India Company. This officer held himself responsible, not to the colonists, but to the directors of the company. The rights of man, said Peter Stuyvesant, were nothing to him; he was the servant of the West India Company.

The story of the Dutch governors has been told by the matchless genius of Washington Irving in his burlesque history of the colony. We may laugh with Irving at the oddities of these rulers, but their task was no light one. During Governor Kieft's administration, there was a terrible Indian war that lasted for five years, and almost destroyed the colony. Then there were the Swedes on the Delaware to be disposed of.



Peter Stuyvesant

Not to be outdone in the race for colonies, Sweden in 1638 had established a settlement at Christina on the Delaware River. New Sweden, as this colony was called, was located on territory claimed by the Dutch. In 1655 a strong expedition under Governor Stuyvesant easily captured Fort Christina, and the Swedish settlements were annexed to New Netherland.

A more difficult problem was that of dealing with the English colonies to the eastward. Settlers from Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were peopling the fertile Connecticut Valley, which was claimed by the Dutch as part of New Netherland. Peter Stuyvesant might bluster, but he could not drive out these English as he had done in the case of the Swedes. So the dispute was referred to arbitrators, who decided that the boundary of New Netherland should be a line drawn ten miles east of the Hudson River.

England Strikes at Holland's Commercial Power. This division gave the Connecticut Valley to the English; and a few years later, it seemed probable that the rest of New Netherland would pass into their hands as well. About this time England passed a Navigation Act aimed at the Dutch shipowners, who then carried on most of the ocean commerce of the world. The

Navigation Act declared that goods imported into England or her colonies must be carried in English ships, or else in the ships of the country producing the goods. This measure closed the trade of the English colonies to Dutch vessels, and promptly brought on war between England and her former friend and ally, Holland.

Cromwell sent four armed vessels across the Atlantic, expecting to secure aid from the English colonies for an attack on New Netherland. Three members of the New England Confederation, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were eager for war, but the largest colony held back. Massachusetts had no quarrel with the Dutch, nor was she inclined to recognize the authority of Cromwell. At last Massachusetts gave way, but just as the New England troops were ready to take the field, news reached Boston of the peace between England and Holland, a peace that saved the Dutch colony for another ten years.

Governor Stuyvesant and His Despotic Rule. Meanwhile, the people of New Netherland were becoming more dissatisfied with their governor than ever. Peter Stuyvesant was a man of quick temper, who believed in his own right to rule. He had lost one leg in war, and as he stumped about on his silver-banded wooden one, the people called him "Old Silver-Leg." Stuyvesant persecuted those who questioned his acts; he threatened to hang on the highest tree in New Netherland any man who might appeal from his decisions to the authorities in Holland. The governor was equally intolerant in the matter of religion. He would permit no church in the colony except the Dutch Reformed Church; for the Lutherans he had fines, while the Quakers were whipped, tortured, and thrown into prison. But in New Netherland as in Massachusetts, all these punishments were of no avail; the Quakers, Independents, and Lutherans kept on worshiping God in the light of their own faith.

An empty treasury at last compelled Governor Stuyvesant to pay some attention to the wishes of the people. He consented to have a council of nine men to advise him in case of need. This council drew up a petition to the legislature of Holland, asking

New Amsterdam

The City Hall and the Great Dock at the southeastern end of the town.

for local self-government in the colony. The legislature incorporated New Amsterdam as a town, but its burgomaster and other officers were appointed by the governor, so the people gained little by their remonstrance. Another complaint of the colonists was that education was neglected. In answer to this complaint, the West India Company agreed that a school might be established in the city tavern if Stuyvesant saw no objection. The governor probably did object, for the children were never taught there, although the schoolmaster asked for the use of the tavern on the ground that his pupils needed a schoolroom which could be warmed in winter.

The Conquest of New Netherland. In spite of England's attempt to cripple Holland's trade, that country was still a commercial rival to be feared. Hence, soon after Charles II became king, Parliament passed a second Navigation Act. This measure closed the trade of the English colonies to foreign ships. All goods intended for her colonies must first be shipped to England and landed there, in order that English merchants and shipowners might have their profit on the colonial trade.

The king's brother, James, was eager for war with Holland, and his wish was soon gratified. Even before the war began, King Charles granted to his brother the whole region between the Connecticut River and the Delaware; in other words, he presented him with the Dutch colony of New Netherland. Colonel Richard Nicolls was the energetic commander sent from England to make good this grant. His little fleet of three warships crossed the Atlantic in 1664, and suddenly appeared before Fort Amsterdam.

Governor Stuyvesant had been warned of his danger, but he was poorly equipped for defense. Fort Amsterdam had only a few stone cannon, with a scant supply of ammunition; more serious still, the people of the colony would not fight for a government in which they had no voice. The English commander sent a letter to Stuyvesant demanding the surrender of Fort Amsterdam, and promising liberal terms. In a rage, Governor Stuyvesant tore the letter to pieces, saying: "I had rather be carried to my grave." But the Dutch burghers and their wives crowded into the council room, and compelled the governor to piece together the fragments of the letter and accept its terms. A white flag was run up over Fort Amsterdam; and without a shot fired on either side, the Dutch colony of New Netherland became the English colony of New York. The conquest of New Netherland removed the wedge which the Dutch had driven between the New England colonies and Virginia. The English were now in control of the whole Atlantic coast from the Spanish settlements in Florida northward to the French outposts on the St. Croix River.

New York under English Rule. Nicolls became the first governor of New York, exercising the authority vested in James, Duke of York, as proprietor of the province. Aided by representatives of the people, he drew up the Duke's Laws, which provided for trial by jury, for freedom of worship, and for the election of town officers by the landowners. Later, the Duke of York became King James II of England; and scarcely had he been crowned king before he took away the liberties that he had granted as duke. New York was annexed to the

Dominion of New England, over which Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor. The Church of England was made the Established Church of the province, and no schools were permitted except those licensed by this church.

The people submitted to the tyranny of Andros until news came of the "Glorious Revolution" that drove King James II out of England, and placed William and Mary of Holland on the throne (1688). As soon as these tidings reached America, there was rebellion on all sides against the rule of Andros. The overthrow of King James gave the colonists more control over their government. The new rulers permitted them to elect a popular legislature, and from this time on, New York had a permanent representative assembly.

The New Jersey Grant. On receiving his charter for the country between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, the Duke of York presented two of his friends with a large portion of his new domain. The lucky proprietors were Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, a brother of the famous governor of Virginia. Their grant included the territory between the Delaware and Hudson rivers, named New Jersey in honor of Sir George Carteret's gallant defense of the Island of Jersey during the Civil War in England. To encourage settlers for their new province, the proprietors offered land on liberal terms, promising the colonists freedom of worship and a legislature of their own choosing. The proprietors also granted two hundred acres of land in each parish for the support of the minister chosen by the settlers.

The Settlers and Their Government. Some colonists were living in New Jersey before the grant was made, for English and Dutch trading centers had been established at Bergen, Hoboken, and Weehawken. Philip Carteret, a cousin of the proprietor, came to New Jersey as governor in 1665. He established Elizabethtown, where the first legislature for the colony met a few years later. Middletown and Newark were settled by New Englanders, some of them coming from the colony of New Haven, which had just been joined to Connecticut. These New Englanders promptly organized a town government, and

restricted the right to vote to members of the Congregationalist Church.

Lord Berkeley afterwards sold his interest in the colony to a group of Quakers, one of whom was William Penn. The Quakers bought what was called West Jersey, for the colony was now divided. The Quakers founded the town of Burlington, granted religious toleration to all settlers, and gave them the right to govern themselves. A few years later, East Jersey was also purchased by William Penn and twenty-three others, chiefly Quakers and Scotch Presbyterians. Large numbers of both these sects now sought religious freedom in New Jersey. The proprietors surrendered their rights to the crown in 1702, when East and West Jersey were again united into a single colony. From this time on, New Jersey was a royal colony with a governor and council appointed by the king, and a representative assembly chosen by the people.

The Society of Friends or Quakers. One of the new religious sects in England was the Society of Friends, or Quakers. The founder of this society was George Fox, the son of a weaver in Leicestershire, England. His converts, nearly all people of the humbler class, were soon numbered by thousands. The Quakers believed in a divine "inner light," or voice of God speaking within their own hearts. Their worship was usually conducted in silence; nevertheless, any one was free to speak, for they believed that all their members were sent by God to preach.

In religion and in everyday life, the Quakers were more democratic than the Puritans themselves. They regarded all men as equal in the sight of God, and believed that they should be equal in the sight of men as well. The Quaker dress was simple and somber; their speech was quaint, for they addressed all people, kings and common folks, simply as "Friend," or as "thee" and "thou." "Love your enemies" was the command of Christ, a command that the Quakers accepted literally. They held all warfare wrong, even in self-defense; they would not fight themselves, nor would they contribute anything to the support of soldiers. "Swear not at all" was another command that the Quakers understood in a literal

sense. They refused to take an oath when testifying in court; worse offense still, they would not take the oath of allegiance to the king. The Quakers, as we have seen, helped to settle New Jersey; and they had a still larger share in building up the colony of Pennsylvania.

William Penn, the Great Quaker Leader. The founding of Pennsylvania was the work of William Penn, one of the greatest men of colonial times. His father, Admiral William Penn, was a distinguished naval officer and a close friend of King Charles II. While a student at the University of Oxford, young Penn was deeply moved by the preaching of a Quaker minister named Thomas Loe. The college authorities thought it best to send him home, whereupon his father gave him a thrashing and turned him out of doors. At last relenting, the Admiral sent his son to Paris, hoping that in the gayeties of the French capital he would forget his Quaker teachings. Apparently the Admiral's plan succeeded; but at a later time young Penn was sent to Ireland to look after his father's properties. It happened that Thomas Loe, the Quaker preacher, was also in Ireland; and one day Penn heard him preach. The text was, "There is a faith which overcometh the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." From that moment until his death, William Penn was a Quaker.

Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

William Penn

Returning to London, Penn wore his hat in his father's presence, called him "thee" and "thou," and was again turned out of doors. Before his death, the Admiral became reconciled to his son, to whom he left a considerable fortune.

Penn was then free to write and preach in defense of his belief; and the authorities could not silence him, even behind prison walls. Notwithstanding his Quaker principles, Penn, like his father, was a warm friend both of Charles II and of the Duke of York. The story is told that one day when William Penn met King Charles, the king removed his hat. "Why dost thou remove thy hat, Friend Charles?" said the young man. "Because," said the king, "wherever I am, it is customary for only one to remain covered."

Penn Plans to Establish a Quaker Colony. The Quakers were bitterly persecuted in England. Their doctrines not only ran contrary to the Established Church, but they were a menace to monarchy itself. If all men were equal in the sight of God, why should there be any nobles or kings? Because of this persecution, William Penn at last decided to found a Quaker colony in the New World. Admiral Penn had loaned King Charles a large sum of money, which had never been repaid. Partly on account of this debt, William Penn petitioned the king for a grant of land in America. His request was granted, and in 1681 King Charles issued a charter that made Penn proprietor of forty thousand square miles in America. In spite of Penn's protest, the king insisted on naming this territory Pennsylvania (Penn's woods). Penn himself drew up the charter, which provided for a government similar to that of Maryland.

Just as the Cavaliers had sought refuge in Virginia and the Puritans in Massachusetts, so the Quakers now flocked to Pennsylvania. In order to encourage emigration, Penn wrote a pamphlet describing his colony. This pamphlet was widely circulated not only in England, Ireland, and Wales, but in Holland and Germany as well. At the same time, Penn wrote a letter to the people who had already settled in Pennsylvania, promising them that they should be governed by laws of their own making.

The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1682. In 1681 Penn sent his cousin to rule as deputy-governor the people living in his new domain. In the following year he himself sailed for the Delaware in the ship *Welcome* with one hundred colonists, most of whom

were Quakers. Proceeding up the river, Penn met the representatives of the people at Chester, and together they passed sixty-one statutes, known as the Great Law of Pennsylvania. These laws were broad and liberal. No taxes were to be levied for the support of any church, and no man was to be persecuted for his religion. Every taxpayer was to have the right to vote, but only those professing Jesus Christ could hold office. There

The Penn House

Built in 1684 south of Market Street, where the Provincial Council met. In 1882 the house was moved to its present site in Fairmount Park.

was to be no labor on the Sabbath Day. The right of trial by jury was established, and no oath was to be required in giving testimony in court. Ten thousand Quakers had tasted the horrors of English prisons; in Pennsylvania, prisons were to be not merely jails, but places of reformation where useful trades should be taught. Only two crimes, murder and treason, were punished by death, although at this time there were a great many capital crimes in England.

The City of Brotherly Love. Before the arrival of the proprietor, the settlers had set aside a wide area for a city between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers. Here Penn laid out the capital of his province, naming it Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love. A weekly post was established, a school was opened, and a printing press set up. Within a few years, Philadelphia could boast a tannery and saw mill, besides a brick kiln, glass factory, and other industries. Philadelphia soon outstripped New York in population and wealth, and during the eighteenth century became the leading city of the colonies.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Penn treated all men as brothers, the red man as well as the white. He determined to deal with the Indians so justly that they would not disturb his colonists. There is a well-founded tradition that Penn made a treaty with the Indian chiefs at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, under an immense elm that long afterward bore the name of the "Treaty Elm." Certain it is that the Quaker leader completely won the hearts of these simple children of the forest. Pledges of friendship were exchanged between Penn and the native chiefs; it was agreed that "the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light." The Indians presented Penn with a wampum belt in which were woven the figures of an Indian and a white man clasping hands. Penn's fair treatment of the natives, and the fact that the tribes of this region had just been subdued by the Iroquois and were not disposed to war, prevented Pennsylvania from having any serious Indian troubles for many years.

The Growth of Pennsylvania. Penn made two visits to his colony, remaining on each occasion for about two years. Large numbers of settlers were arriving from Ireland and Germany, as well as from England and Wales. The colony grew so rapidly that Penn could write in 1684: "I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit." Pennsylvania was larger than New York by the time of the Revolution, and was outranked in population only by Massachusetts and Virginia. Until the Revolution, the colony remained in the hands of the Penn family as proprietors.

The charter of Pennsylvania encroached upon the domain of Lord Baltimore, and a heated boundary quarrel disturbed both colonies for a number of years. This dispute was not settled until about ten years before the Revolution, when two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, fixed a definite boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Every few miles they planted a stone on one side of which was cut the coat of arms of the Baltimores, on the other that of the Penn family. In the later history of our country, Mason and Dixon's line became famous as the dividing line between the slave and the free states.

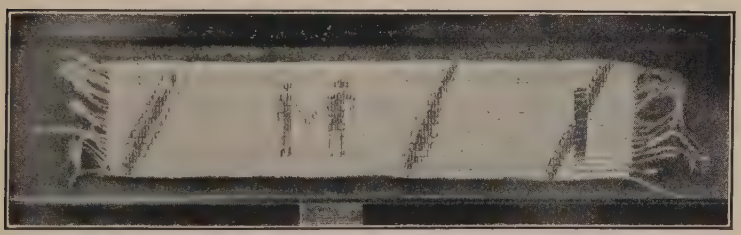
Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Hannah Callowhill

The wife of William Penn, who came to this country on Penn's second voyage, 1669.

Delaware Becomes an English Colony. The country around the Delaware River was claimed by the Dutch from the voyage of Henry Hudson, and was considered a part of New Netherland. In 1638, the Swedes planted a settlement near the present site of Wilmington. New Sweden, as their colony was called, was finally seized by the Dutch, and afterwards surrendered to England. Soon after Penn received his charter, he persuaded the Duke of York to grant him the territory now known as the state of Delaware in order to give his own colony a direct outlet to the ocean. So Delaware became part of Pennsylvania, and was referred to as the "lower counties." This union was very displeasing to the people of Delaware. Shortly after Penn's second visit, they obtained their own deputy-governor and assembly, although until the Revolution they continued to have the same governor as Pennsylvania.

Results of the Colonizing Movement. England's great colonizing movement during the seventeenth century was not confined to the mainland of North America. The Bermuda Islands were occupied by one of the early expeditions bound for Virginia, while other English settlers reached the Leeward Islands a few years after the Pilgrim fathers settled Plymouth. The Bahama Islands were discovered by the Spaniards, who abandoned them for the richer countries of South America; and English Puritans afterwards came to the islands. In 1655 England seized Jamaica, another Spanish possession, and occupied Barbados, which became her richest and most populous American colony during the seventeenth century. Here in the West Indies, as on the mainland of North America, France was England's chief rival. By the middle of the seventeenth century, French settlers had occupied thirteen islands of this group. The most important were Guadeloupe, Martinique, and a large part of Santo Domingo or Haiti, which France



" The Treaty not Sworn to and Never Broken "

The belt of wampum given to William Penn by the Leni Lenape Sachems at the Elm Tree Treaty, 1682, and presented by his great-grandson Granville John Penn to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1857.

wrested from Spain. Even little Denmark entered the race for colonies, and planted settlements on three islands of the Leeward group, near Porto Rico. On the Pacific coast, Russia held Alaska as a result of the discoveries of Vitus Bering; in the North Atlantic, Denmark claimed the colony of Greenland.

On the mainland of North America, the seizure of New Netherland and the founding of Georgia gave England an unbroken chain of colonies along the Atlantic coast from Maine

to Florida. By the close of the seventeenth century, Holland and Sweden had been forced out of the race for colonies in North America; while on the south, Spain was no longer a rival to be feared. In the future, only the French power in Canada and west of the Appalachians could threaten England's supremacy over the continent.

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CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT

France and England as Rivals in North America. At the close of the seventeenth century, France claimed a vast domain in North America. New France, as her empire was called, included Acadia and the St. Lawrence region, together with the country surrounding the Great Lakes, and the entire Mississippi Basin. The English colonies occupied the narrow strip of coast between the Atlantic Ocean and the Appalachians, these mountains forming a natural barrier to westward expansion. Although British America was much smaller than New France, it was held more securely. The Englishman came with his family to establish a permanent home in the New World. The French flag was carried forward over vast stretches of territory by intrepid explorers like La Salle, but to little avail. Few colonists came to live in the wide domain opened up by the French pathfinders; and the few who came usually preferred the fur trade to the difficult work of farming. Moreover, France was too busy with wars and politics in Europe to give serious attention to her New World empire. Both France and England persecuted dissenters from the established state religion. But while England winked at the emigration of Separatists, Puritans, and Quakers, France forbade the Huguenots to go to America, where they would have greatly aided her task of empire building.

Lacking permanent settlers, New France had to rely on a chain of rude forts with small garrisons to hold back the steady westward pressure of the English colonists. If it came to war, there was a long line of communications to defend, extending from Quebec at the north along the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, thence down the Mississippi to the fort at

New Orleans. This line must be defended by troops sent from Canada or France, for settlers were few throughout all this vast region. The French power was not rooted in the soil as in the case of the English along the coast, where the colonists fought with their backs toward their homes. Another advantage of the English was the friendship of the Iroquois Indians, who checked the southward advance of the French from the St. Lawrence region.

Colonial Wars between France and England. England and France had long been rivals in Europe; and the close of the seventeenth century found each nation eager to extend its domain in the New World. The English wished more room in the center of the continent over which their growing colonies might expand; while the French wanted the Hudson River Valley in order to have an outlet from the St. Lawrence southward. This would cut the English possessions in two, and go far toward expelling them from the continent. The issue between the two powers was decided in a long series of hard-fought wars. There were four of these colonial wars, covering a period of nearly a century (1689–1763), with thirty years of actual fighting. The first three were little more than border conflicts so far as America was concerned, but in Europe the fighting was on a much larger scale. The fourth colonial struggle, or the French and Indian War, is known in European history as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). This was a world-wide conflict in which the mastery both of North America and of Asia was decided.

To understand the campaigns in this century-long struggle for North America, we must bear in mind that there were then no roads along which opposing armies might attack each other. There were many trails over which small bands of Indians or rangers might pass, but an army of any size had to follow one of two great waterways. One of these ran almost due north from Albany by way of the Hudson River, Lakes George and Champlain, to the St. Lawrence River and the heart of Canada. The second route also started from Albany, running west along the Mohawk River to Lake Ontario. Both routes lay through a

rugged, forest-clad, and almost unpeopled wilderness. Each was interrupted by numerous rapids and shallows, around which the boats had to be carried. So, during all of these colonial wars, it was not so much a question of how to fight the enemy, as of how to get at him.

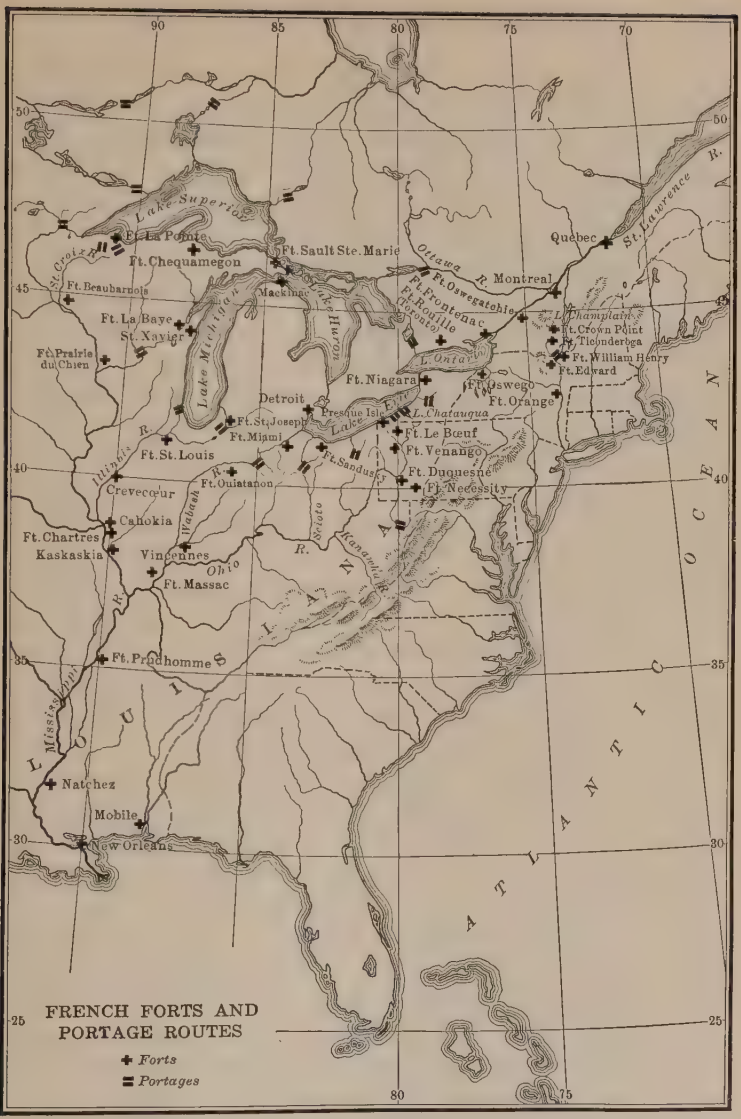
The Contest for the Ohio Valley. At the close of the third colonial war in 1748, both France and Great Britain realized that the final conflict had only been delayed. The French still hoped to confine their rivals to the region east of the Alleghenies; but the English colonies had become much stronger than New France in population and resources, the factors that were to decide the question of supremacy. In moving westward, there were two natural highways which the English colonists might take. One was through the Mohawk Valley, but the Iroquois or Five Nations held back their advance in this direction. The other was by way of the Potomac River into the Ohio Valley. English fur traders were already using this route, and it was here that the first clash came. The governor of Canada sent an expedition to take possession of the Ohio Valley, and to warn intruders that this region was claimed by France. On reaching Lake Erie, the explorers carried their canoes overland to Chautauqua Lake, and from this point passed down the Allegheny River to the Ohio. Wherever they saw English fur traders, they warned them to leave the country. The Frenchmen passed down the Ohio River until they came to the Great Miami, returning to Lake Erie by way of the Maumee River.

In the same year that the French were exploring the Ohio Valley, some Virginians determined to plant a settlement there. The Ohio Company, as their organization was called, secured from the king the grant of 500,000 acres of land on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers. Christopher Gist, a fur trader, was sent to explore the country and select lands for the company. The French were alarmed at this preparation for settlement in the territory claimed by them. Unless they could keep control of the Ohio River, their communication with Louisiana through the center

of the continent would be destroyed, and their possessions cut in two. The governor of Canada, Marquis Duquesne, was instructed to build forts along the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, so as to connect the St. Lawrence settlements with the Mississippi. Governor Duquesne sent an expedition which landed at Presque Isle on the southern shore of Lake Erie, where the city of Erie now stands. Fort Le Bœuf was built on a northern tributary of the Allegheny, and Fort Venango farther toward the south.

Washington's First Public Mission. All of this Ohio Valley region was claimed by Virginia under her charter of 1609. The governor of Virginia determined to send a written protest to the French, warning them that they were trespassers, and demanding that they leave the Ohio Valley. The man chosen by Governor Dinwiddie to take this message was a young Virginia surveyor, George Washington. Although only twenty-one years of age when chosen for this mission, Washington had already gained a reputation for courage, fair-mindedness, and military capacity. Accompanied by Christopher Gist and six other white men, he made his way through the wilderness to Fort Le Bœuf, near the northern boundary of Pennsylvania. The French commander sent Dinwiddie's letter on to Governor Duquesne, and Washington carried back a reply which asserted that the king of France owned all the country west of the Allegheny Mountains.

The French and Indian War, 1756–1763. Governor Dinwiddie decided to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio River in order to secure this natural gateway to the interior of the continent. For this mission he again chose Colonel George Washington, who was to command a force of Virginia volunteers. Before Washington could arrive, the French came down the Allegheny River and built a strong fort at the forks of the Ohio, naming it Fort Duquesne. Washington reached Great Meadows, a spot on the western slope of the Alleghenies, before the French blocked his advance. He threw up a rude fortification called Fort Necessity, but was compelled to surrender to superior numbers on July 4, 1754. This engagement was really



By this system of Indian "carries" or portages over the watershed between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley, the French were able to keep open the military communications in the great expanse of Louisiana.

the beginning of the French and Indian War, although war was not actually declared until two years later.

Advantages and Weaknesses of Each Combatant. In this final struggle for the continent of North America, the French had some advantages over the British. Canada was defended by a considerable force of trained soldiers, including regiments famous throughout Europe for their valor. Moreover, the governor of Canada had power to enlist in the defense of his country every man capable of bearing arms. In border warfare the French had trained themselves to fight alongside the Indians. To offset the fact that a large amount of territory had to be defended, the French possessed two of the strongest fortresses in North America. These were Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, and the impregnable cliff of Quebec. The French settlements in America were united under a single governor, but this gain was offset by the fact that there was no such thing as self-government throughout New France. As a result, the French colonists relied on the mother country in all things, rather than upon their own resources. Even when a British army was battering the gates of Quebec, the Canadians looked for defense to the trained regiments from France, while their own militia fled in confusion at the first volley.

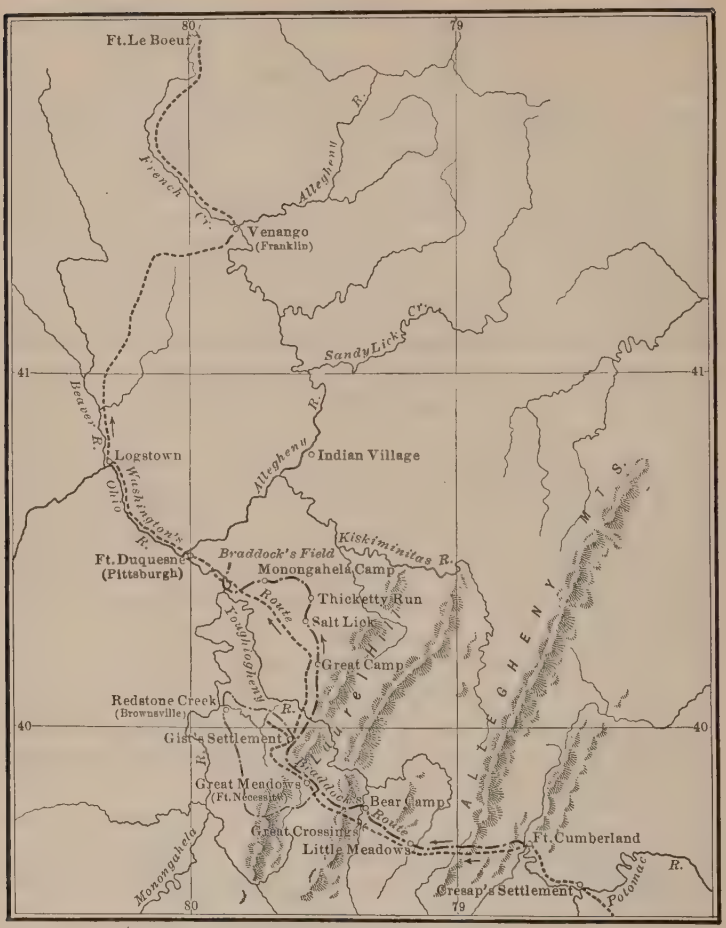
In marked contrast with the centralized empire of New France, the thirteen English colonies had their separate governments, each jealous and distrustful of its neighbor. The New England colonists were suspicious of the New Yorkers, and the feeling was fully returned in kind. Pennsylvania thought it hardly worth while to fight for the Ohio Valley if the country were to belong to Virginia under her sea-to-sea charter; while the southern colonies, believing that they were in no danger of attack, at first refused to send any troops at all. Moreover, the British generals made no effort to disguise their contempt for the colonial troops and officers, a fact that did not promote harmony. Leading men among the colonists knew only too well the cause of their weakness. Reporting the seizure of Fort Duquesne in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Benjamin Franklin added an illustration of a rattlesnake cut into

pieces, below which appeared his famous motto, "Unite or Die."

The Albany Plan of Union, 1754. Realizing that war was at hand, the British government instructed the colonial governors to send commissioners to Albany with power to make a treaty with the Iroquois, and secure their aid if possible. Delegates were present from seven colonies; and they discussed not only Indian affairs, but also the possibility of uniting all the colonies in a league for common defense. The "Albany Plan of Union" was drawn up by one of Pennsylvania's delegates, Benjamin Franklin. His plan provided for a president-general appointed by the king, and an annual council of delegates elected by the colonial assemblies. The Albany Plan did not meet with favor outside of the congress that adopted it. Remembering Sir Edmund Andros, the colonists did not like the idea of a president-general appointed by the king; while the British government was not in favor of a council chosen by the colonies. Although the plan was dropped, its proposal showed that the colonists were beginning to realize the need of some kind of union.

Braddock's Defeat at Fort Duquesne. The beginning of the war saw the French in possession of the Ohio Valley, and occupying a strongly fortified position along the St. Lawrence River. Against these points the British began active military measures immediately after Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity. General Braddock was sent to America as the British commander in chief. He met the colonial governors at Alexandria, and a threefold plan of campaign was agreed upon. (1) The entrance to the interior of the continent was to be secured by taking Fort Duquesne. (2) An expedition of New York volunteers and Iroquois Indians was to attack Crown Point and Niagara. (3) A colonial army, aided by a British naval force, was to attack the French posts in Acadia.

General Braddock, a veteran of proven courage but a bigot to military rules, reserved to himself the task of taking Fort Duquesne. Braddock's regulars were reinforced by Virginia militia under Colonel Washington, giving him a force of about



The Ohio Valley Country

Washington's Mission to Ft. Le Bœuf and Braddock's Expedition.

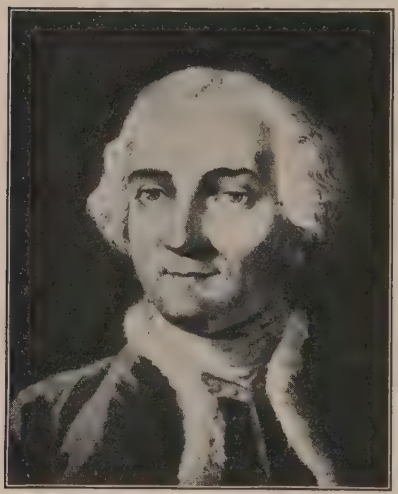
1400 men. Sturdy axmen hewed a road for his army through the unbroken forests from Virginia to Fort Cumberland, then across Pennsylvania toward the forks of the Ohio River. Braddock's army was within eight miles of Fort Duquesne, when there was a sudden attack. Hidden in the dense woods,

the French and Indians poured a deadly fire upon the brilliant mark afforded by the red-coated British troops. Braddock refused to listen to the advice of Washington and the colonial officers, who urged him to let the men break ranks, form a skirmish line, and fight in frontier fashion. Attacked on three sides, the British force was almost annihilated. In vain Braddock strove to rally his defeated forces. Five horses were shot under him; and as he lay dying, he exclaimed: "We shall know better how to do it next time." Only the Virginia militia stood fast, and despite the loss of four fifths of their number, covered the retreat of the wreck of the army.

Braddock's defeat convinced the Indians that the French were to be the victors in the coming struggle, and it left the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia open to their raids and massacres. To defend this back door of the colonies, Washington raised a small force of Virginians, and built blockhouses near the principal mountain passes. His skill in defending the border during the following three years, and his valor at Fort Duquesne, gave him a reputation as the ablest colonial officer in America.

Expulsion of the Acadians. For forty years the British had been in possession of Acadia, which they called Nova Scotia; but except for their stronghold at Halifax, they had little control over the province. The French inhabitants of the peninsula refused to recognize the British as their rulers, so that the situation was full of danger. If the British weakened their garrison at Halifax in order to attack Louisburg, the Acadians might rise in revolt, and drive them from the peninsula. To avert this danger, the British commander decided to seize the Acadians, place them on transports, and distribute them throughout the English colonies to the southward. In this way nearly seven thousand Acadians were exiled from the land of their birth for no fault except their refusal to take the oath of allegiance. In the confusion that marked the tragic expulsion of the Acadians, their goods were lost and many families separated, incidents that gave Longfellow the suggestion for his beautiful poem *Evangeline*.

William Pitt Becomes Prime Minister. In spite of all the fighting in America up to this time, Great Britain and France were still outwardly at peace. But in 1756 Great Britain joined with Prussia against Austria, France, and Russia in the terrible European struggle known as the Seven Years' War. France won the first victories in America. A great French general, the Marquis de Montcalm, took Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake George, and captured Oswego. In this hour of gloom, Great Britain turned to the man who was to give her victories in place of defeat. William Pitt was appointed prime minister, a position which he held for the next four years. Fearless of criticism, Pitt had the valuable gift of judging men. He did not hesitate to turn out the bunglers who were responsible for Britain's military disasters. Pitt wanted generals who could win battles, regardless of their years of service or station in life. The British had been content up to this time simply to hold back the French. Pitt changed this policy; his bold imagination conceived the plan of driving them from the continent. Hereafter, it was to be an offensive, rather than a defensive war. Under Pitt's direction, fleets, troops, and supplies were dispatched to the New World; and soon all America was aglow with military enthusiasm.



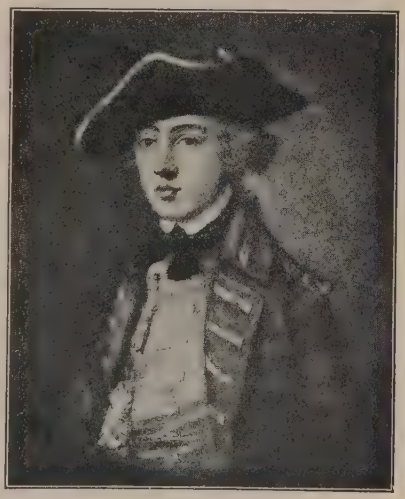
Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, Commander in Chief of the French Army in America

From an engraving by Sergent, 1790, in the Emmett Collection, New York Public Library.

The Capture of Louisburg and of Fort Duquesne, 1758. The first result of the new policy was the capture of Louisburg by Generals Amherst and Wolfe, aided by a powerful fleet.

The fall of this fortress made it possible for the British fleet to block the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. An advance was also to be made through Lakes George and Champlain, but this failed because of the crushing defeat that Montcalm inflicted on the British at Ticonderoga. In the same year, a force of regulars and colonial troops captured Fort Duquesne, which was renamed Fort Pitt in honor of England's great statesman.

The Attack on Quebec. Pitt next planned a twofold campaign against Quebec, the stronghold of French power in America. General Amherst was to capture Fort Niagara, then advance northward along the Champlain route against Quebec. His army was to coöperate with that of General Wolfe, who was to move up the St. Lawrence from the sea. Amherst captured Niagara, and soon afterwards occupied Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but he was unable to advance beyond the entrance of the Richelieu River.



James Wolfe

From an engraving by Richard A. Muller in the Emmett Collection, New York Public Library, after Gainsborough's portrait.

Thus the attack upon Quebec fell solely upon Wolfe. Although only thirty-two years of age, he had been chosen by Pitt as the one man best fitted to command the expedition. Slight in frame and feeble in health, Wolfe's spirit was heroic, his enthusiasm as boundless as that of Pitt himself. The fleet bearing Wolfe's army entered the St. Lawrence in June, 1759, and anchored off the island of Orleans, a few miles above Quebec. Situated at the top of a cliff two hundred feet above the water, the fortress was thought to be

impregnable. Wolfe destroyed that part of the town around the base of the cliff, but the summer wore away with nothing accomplished toward taking the citadel. After an unsuccessful attack near the Falls of Montmorency below Quebec, Wolfe changed his plan of action. He determined on an attack above the city where the banks of the St. Lawrence are high and steep, but broken here and there by ravines. By climbing one of these ravines about a mile and a half above Quebec, Wolfe hoped to place his army on the Plains of Abraham. From there he could bombard the fortress, or force Montcalm into a decisive battle.

Monument Erected in 1827 to the Memory of Wolfe and Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham

The Battle on the Plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759. On a moonless night in September, Wolfe with four thousand men rowed stealthily up the St. Lawrence, landing near the ravine called the *Anse du Foulon*. Here the daring attempt was to be made. At the top of the ravine was a French post of only two hundred soldiers, for Montcalm did not expect an attack at so difficult a point. Just before dawn the twenty-four volunteers who formed the vanguard of the British force scrambled up the almost impassable cliff, easily routing the French soldiers, who had not even placed a sentry there. The ravine once held, it was an easy matter for Wolfe's

The Middle Colonies During the French and Indian War.

The dotted line marks the extent of French territory previous to the conclusion of the war.

little army to gain a position on the plains above. Thinking that only a part of the enemy's army was before him, Montcalm ordered an immediate attack. The battle was short, but fiercely contested. Montcalm's regulars fought bravely, but the French line first wavered, then broke before the deadly fire of the British. Carried away in the rush of fugitives, Montcalm himself was mortally wounded. When told that he had but a few hours to live, he replied, "So much the better, I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Wolfe was twice wounded, but was still leading the charge when a third bullet cut him down in the hour of victory. His dying

words were: "Now God be praised! I shall die in peace." The great fortress of Quebec was surrendered a few days later; and with the conquest of Montreal the next year, Great Britain held Canada with all its dependencies.

Results of the War. France was exhausted and anxious for peace. By the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, she ceded to Great Britain not only Canada, but all of the disputed territory between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, except New Orleans and a small adjacent district. Spain, the luckless ally of France, was obliged to cede Florida to the British, but was allowed to recover Cuba and the Philippines, which had been seized by Great Britain during the war. On the day when the preliminaries of peace were signed, France made a secret agreement with Spain by which she gave her New Orleans, together with all the territory known as Louisiana stretching westward from the Mississippi River. Great Britain restored to France some of the sugar islands in the West Indies which she had captured, and granted French fishermen the right to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off the coast of Newfoundland. In Africa, France ceded Senegal, while in India she lost another empire.

The Treaty of Paris left Great Britain beyond all dispute the greatest of maritime and colonial powers. Portugal and Holland, her earlier rivals, had long since fallen hopelessly behind; and by this treaty France and Spain were swept from her path. Great Britain was now mistress of the seas, and all the world was open to her merchants, explorers, and colonists. To the English colonists, the treaty meant that the whole interior of the continent was thrown open to the growing population which had been confined to the Atlantic side of the Appalachian barrier. It meant, too, the removal of the menace of French power toward the north, leaving the colonies less dependent upon Great Britain for defense against a common foe. It was settled that Anglo-Saxon ideals and institutions were to prevail throughout North America; and to the colonists this was the most important result of the war. The government of New France was a despotic and paternal government, with all of its

powers proceeding from the king. There was no trial by jury, there were no town meetings, no representative assemblies to help make the laws. Had France won the war, her system of colonial government would have been extended over the greater part of the continent. It would have been impossible for the English colonists, in their narrow space along the Atlantic coast, to develop into the great nation of to-day whose ideals have always been those of liberty and self-government.

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CHAPTER XI

LIFE IN COLONIAL TIMES

Population and Immigration. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, about two million people were living in the thirteen British colonies scattered along the Atlantic seaboard. Virginia ranked first in population, with three hundred fifty thousand people; while next in order came Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Of our large cities of to-day, Philadelphia and Boston each had a population of twenty-five thousand in 1760, while New York had only one half that number. The New England colonists were nearly all of English stock, as were most of the settlers in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In the Middle Colonies, there were many Dutch, Swedes, Germans, and Scotch-Irish. However, all of the colonies were so thoroughly English that settlers of a different nationality were regarded as foreigners. During the eighteenth century, more of these foreigners came to the colonies than ever before. Many of them fled from religious persecution at home; while others sought refuge in the New World from the wars and oppressive conditions in Europe, where the land was owned by a few people, and the laborers were little better than serfs.

After the failure of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, many Scotch Highlanders came to the colonies, large numbers of them settling in North Carolina. There were also many Scotch-Irish, or people whose ancestors originally lived in Scotland, but who afterwards moved to the northern part of Ireland. The Scotch-Irish settled in the mountain valleys of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. They were sturdy backwoodsmen, living in log cabins and cultivating their small farms without

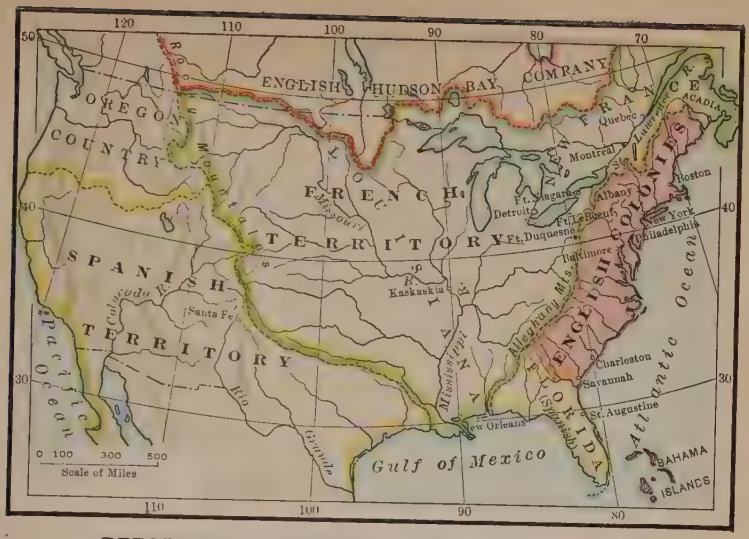
the aid of slaves. There were French Protestants or Huguenots in all the colonies, especially in South Carolina. But the most numerous class of foreigners were the Germans from the Rhine Valley. The great German migration to the colonies began about 1717, and continued until the Revolution. There were two chief causes for this movement. The Rhine country had been so devastated by wars that its people were almost compelled to find new homes. Moreover, in their own country the German peasants could not hope to rise above the condition in which they were born; while in the New World they could obtain free land, and might become wealthy farmers.

Establishment of Towns in New England. For a number of reasons, the first New England colonists settled in small communities known as towns, instead of scattering over larger areas. Most of the New Englanders were Puritans in religion, and their first settlements were made by church congregations, each headed by its minister. Hence they naturally wished to have their homes near together so that all might worship at the common church. The economic conditions also favored the development of towns. The New England coast is indented by many bays and harbors; the rivers are generally rapid and unfit for navigation; the stony soil is not adapted to the cultivation of large estates. Hence many of the people settled on small farms, raising little more produce than they themselves needed; while others engaged in commerce and fisheries, which likewise favored close settlement. Moreover, the Indian tribes were likely to be hostile, and it was easier to defend a compact community against their raids. Frequently each little town was surrounded by a stockade, and provided with a blockhouse in which the people could take refuge in case of sudden attack. The town included not only the group of dwellings within the stockade, but also the outlying fields cultivated by the colonists.

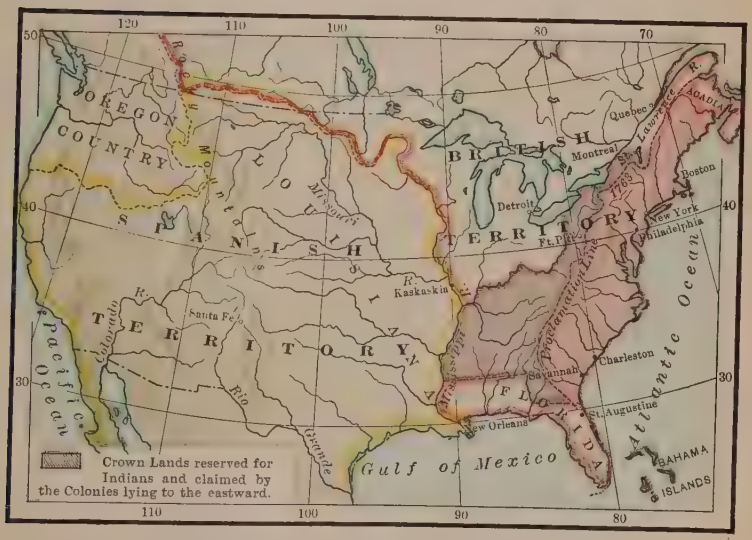
Hence the word "town" as used in New England does not mean a small village, but a district with an area of from twenty to forty square miles. In the center of this district was the meeting house, the town hall, the village store, the inn, and the schoolhouse. The people lived close together, and were sociable

and friendly. There were few slaves in New England, for both climate and industry were unfavorable to negro labor; and the absence of a slaveholding class helped to make life more democratic. The government of the town was a pure democracy; that is, local laws and regulations were made by the people themselves, instead of by their representatives. The men met in town meeting for the discussion of matters of common concern, such as the defense of the community, the construction of roads, the support of the school, and the care of the poor. On these and many other matters, the town meeting made laws called bylaws; it also levied taxes and elected the town officers.

Life in the Southern Colonies. Conditions in the southern colonies were quite different. The men who came to Virginia did not come as church congregations seeking a land where they might worship freely; the first settlers, especially, came in the hope of finding gold. The people lived on large plantations, so that many a southern gentleman had to ride at least a mile to reach his nearest neighbor. The soil at the South was fertile, the rivers were slow and navigable, and many plantations had their own wharves where English ships could exchange their cargoes of manufactured goods for American tobacco. The warm climate was favorable to African labor; and once introduced, the system of slavery spread rapidly. The natural result of slavery was to degrade manual labor, thus preventing the rise of a prosperous middle class; and a wide social distinction separated the plantation owners from the landless settlers. Thus an aristocratic type of society developed in the South as naturally as a democratic type in New England. Since the population was scattered, the people could not come together in town meetings. So the planters adopted a system of county government similar to that in England. The southern colonies were divided into counties, each governed by a county court. This body was composed of justices appointed by the governor of the colony. Thus local government at the South was less democratic than in New England, where the people themselves met in town meeting to pass local laws, and choose their local officers.



BEFORE THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—1750



AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—1763

COLONIAL NORTH AMERICA

The Middle Colonies. The Middle Colonies were situated between New England and the South, so they borrowed some features of their local government from each section. From New England they took the township; from the South, the county. The functions of local government were divided between these two areas; hence this is called the township-county type of local government. The system of local government in the Middle Colonies was adopted many years later by the men who moved west to settle the Mississippi Valley. As a result, this township-county plan now prevails throughout the group of states extending from New York to Nebraska, which together include more than half the population of the country. It is thus our most representative type of local government.

Colonial Government. Besides its system of local government, each colony had a central government, something like the state governments of to-day. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were governed under charters granted by the king, which gave the colonists highly prized rights of self-government. The people elected the governor and his council, as well as the legislature; hence they had almost complete control over their government. In Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the governor was appointed by the proprietor, although the colonists were permitted to elect a representative assembly. The other seven were royal colonies; that is, they were ruled by a governor appointed by the king, together with a legislature chosen by the colonists. The right to vote was everywhere limited to men who owned a certain amount of property; and religious tests were also common. In every colony, the people claimed the rights of Englishmen living in the mother country. On the whole, Great Britain's system of colonial government was more free and liberal than that which any other nation then granted to its colonies.

Agriculture and the Fisheries. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the colonists, although the New Englander on his small farm could raise only the simple necessities of life. The Middle Colonies were the chief producers of foodstuffs, while the southern planters raised staple crops of tobacco, rice,

sugar, and indigo. The New England settlers found fishing one of their most profitable occupations. The cod, mackerel, and whale fishing on the Atlantic coast gave employment to thousands of hardy sailors. In 1750, the port of Gloucester alone had seventy vessels, while the colony of Massachusetts had six thousand persons employed in the fishing industry. The better grades of fish were shipped to southern Europe, the poorer grades to the West Indies.

The Fur Trade. The fur trade with the Indians was another important industry. New York was said to be the one English colony that could compete successfully with the French fur traders. Thousands of beaver skins were also shipped from New England, while Georgia and Virginia exported immense quantities of deer skins. The Indian loved the white man's woolen blankets, trinkets, and firearms; above all else, he loved the white man's rum, and was always ready to exchange any number of valuable furs for a small quantity of liquor. The fur trade pushed its way westward as the frontier receded, gradually crossing the Appalachian barrier; and it was the rivalry of the British and French fur traders in the Ohio Valley which helped to bring on the final conflict between France and Great Britain. At the South, the fur trade also led to rivalry with the French and Spanish colonists of the Gulf region.

Commerce and Shipbuilding. The abundance of good harbors along the Atlantic coast, the resources offered by the fisheries, and the ready supply of lumber for shipbuilding, all combined to make the New Englanders a seagoing people. A large part of the coasting trade was carried on in New England vessels, which also competed with British ships for the carrying trade of the ocean. British laws aided New England's shipbuilding industry, since all articles shipped to or from the colonies had to be carried in British or colonial-built ships. The chief products which the colonists bought from England were woolen goods, wrought iron, and nails. Tobacco was their leading export; while next in order came naval stores, peltries, rice, and fish. Three fourths of the exports from the colonies to England were shipped from Virginia, Maryland, and the

Carolinas. The northern colonies sent no great staples, but paid for British goods indirectly through their shipbuilding and carrying trade, and by means of their commerce with the West Indies and southern Europe.

Manufacturing in the Colonies. There was little manufacturing in the colonies, for the mother country wished them to produce raw materials for her own factories, instead of supplying themselves with manufactured articles. The iron mined in the colonies might be made into crude bars or pigs; but these bars must be sent to England to be made into useful articles, since Parliament had prohibited the erection in the colonies of any steel furnace or mill for rolling iron. Straw hats and bonnets might be made in the homes of the colonists, but the manufacture of cloth or felt hats was restricted. These acts against manufacturing were more strictly enforced than the Navigation Acts, so that only household industries were carried on in America. The wives and daughters of the colonists dressed flax and carded wool, which was spun into thread or yarn on the spinning wheel, and woven into cloth on the cumbersome hand loom. Mittens and socks were also knitted in the home. Blacksmithing, the dressing of leather, shoemaking, soap and candle making, were other important domestic industries. There were many flour and grist mills, and the manufacture of molasses into rum was carried on extensively in New England.

Free Laborers and Indented Servants. On the small farms, especially in the North, the owner usually cultivated his own land with the help of his family. Sometimes free laborers were employed, usually at a high rate of wages; for throughout the colonies, labor was a scarce commodity. Land was so cheap and yielded such large returns that men wanted to become independent farmers, and were not willing to remain hired laborers. At times the settlers exchanged labor with one another, as when there was a house or barn to be raised, or when crops were being harvested — work that called for united effort.

Much more numerous than the free laborers were the unfree laborers known as indented servants. Of these there were two

classes: those who voluntarily became servants, and those who were forced into servitude. The first class was made up of free persons who emigrated to the colonies to improve their condition. In return for their transportation, they bound themselves out to service for a limited period, usually five or seven years. The second class of indented servants were English men and women forced to emigrate by the government; or children kidnapped in the streets of London or Bristol, and placed on ships bound for America. A law of Parliament authorized justices of the peace to send rogues, vagabonds, and "sturdy beggars" to the colonies. Then too, thousands of convicted criminals were pardoned on condition that they go to America, where they were sold into servitude for from seven to fourteen years.

Slavery and the Slave Trade. Slavery existed in all of the colonies, but in a very different degree. In New England it was fast disappearing, because the varied industries of that section made slavery unprofitable. In New York and New Jersey, about one tenth of the population was composed of slaves; while in the South the slaves numbered forty per cent of the total population. Many of the southern colonies at first opposed the introduction of slavery, but the need for labor was great, and slave labor seemed well suited to the climate and crops of the South. In the tobacco fields of Virginia and on the rice plantations of South Carolina, the work was done by slaves under the direction of overseers. Harsh laws governed the treatment of the negroes. They were the absolute property of their masters, and had no redress even against the most cruel and inhuman treatment. New slaves were usually secured from Africa. The slave-trade was very profitable, and many New England merchants were engaged in the traffic. Molasses was brought from the West Indies to New England, where it was manufactured into rum; this was taken to Africa and exchanged for slaves, who were sold in the West Indies or in the southern colonies.

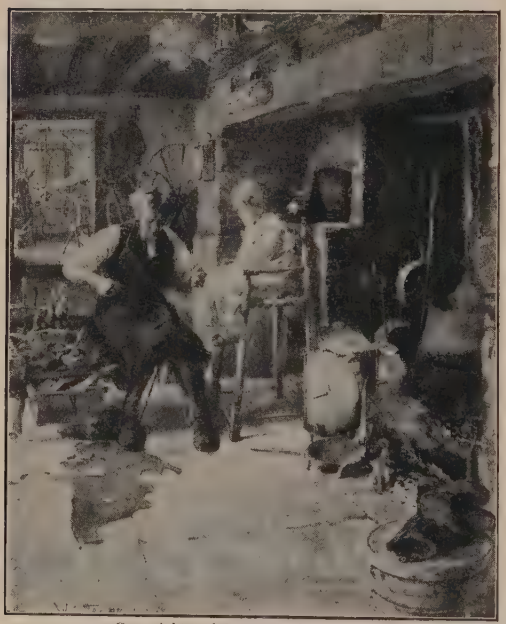
Homes of the Colonists. Most of the small houses in the country were built of logs, either left round or roughly squared

with a broad-ax. The cracks between the logs were chinked with wedges of wood, and daubed with clay. The roof was usually of shingles, or of thatch supported by poles. A log shutter was hung at the opening left for a window, and a bark door hung on leather straps completed the home. A platform about two feet high placed along the wall and supported at the outer edge by strong posts, formed a bedstead; while hemlock boughs served for the mattress. It was not a soft one, but there was a popular frontier saying that, "A hard day's work makes a soft bed." Sometimes the houses in the frontier communities were surrounded by a stockade of logs set on end, with heavy gates. This formed a place of refuge for the colonists in case of Indian raids. When the town site of Milford, Connecticut, was inclosed in this way, the Indians taunted the settlers by crying out, "White men all same like pigs."

After sawmills came into use, the best dwellings were built of milled lumber, and were often patterned after the country houses in England — square, with broad porches supported by many columns. Many of the later houses were built of stone and mortar, or of brick. The first windows were of oiled paper, glass being a rare luxury. The early Dutch houses in New York were built of brick, and were set close to the sidewalk with the gable end toward the street. In the South, the favorite dwelling was a frame building, with a large stone chimney at either end. When tobacco brought prosperity to the planters, better homes were built with wide porches and stately columns. There were separate buildings for the slaves and overseers, besides the stable, barn, smokehouse, and spinning house, where the slaves used to spin flax and wool under the direction of the mistress of the plantation. The best example that has been preserved of a comfortable southern mansion, such as was built in the eighteenth century, is the Mount Vernon home of George Washington.

The Kitchen Fireside. The kitchen, which was also the living room, was the most cheerful and homelike room in the house. Its most attractive feature was the kitchen fireside. In all the early houses, immense chimneys were built, usually of

stone; and whole logs could be burned on the andirons within the spacious fireplace. Sometimes there were seats within the chimney on either side, where the entire family could sit and watch the sparks fly up the great chimney. The primitive method of roasting was to suspend the joint of meat in front of the fire by a cord tied to a peg in the ceiling; from time to time, the housewife or one of the children would twist the string so as to turn the roast around. Bread and pies were baked in a large brick oven, built in on one side of the fireplace. For many years, these picturesque fireplaces were the only means of heating or cooking. The Germans of Pennsylvania were the first to use stoves and airdrums; and in 1742 Benjamin Franklin invented his famous stove in which either wood or coal could be burned.



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The Traveling Shoemaker

Notice the cooking utensils hanging around the fireplace. Behind the little girl is the brick bake-oven. Above the hearth hangs the flintlock, bullet pouch, and powder horn. In the corner stands the spinning wheel, and in the next room the mother is working at the loom.

The Serving of Meals. The kitchen utensils were usually pewter or earthenware, for tin was then a luxury. The dining table was a long narrow board, supported on trestles; and the diners sat on benches instead of chairs. Food was served in wooden trenchers or blocks of wood about ten inches square,

hollowed into the form of a bowl. There were not even enough of these simple dishes to go around; so that two children, or a man and his wife, usually ate out of one trencher. Even the famous Miles Standish used wooden trenchers at his table, as did all of the early governors. Bottles and drinking cups were also of wood. The colonists had plenty of napkins and much need for them, for forks were unknown until late in the seventeenth century. Platters as well as spoons were of pewter, for china had not yet come into use. In a volume called *A Pretty Little Pocketbook*, printed late in the eighteenth century, there is a list of rules for the behavior of children at the table. They were ordered never to seat themselves until after the blessing had been asked; they were never to ask for anything on the table; never to speak unless spoken to; always to break the bread, not to bite into a whole slice; never to take salt except with a clean knife; and never to throw bones under the table.

An Iron Stove

Now in the State Capitol, Richmond. Made in London, 1770, by Buzaglo, and used in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

How the Houses Were Lighted. These early homes were lighted by pine knots from the forest. One old Massachusetts minister boasted that every one of the hundred sermons he had written was copied by this flickering light. Candles made from tallow next came into use. These were made in great kettles hung in the kitchen fireplace, filled with boiling water and melted tallow. Six or eight wicks of loosely spun hemp or tow were placed on a rod, and carefully dipped again and again in the melted

tallow until the candles reached the desired size. Later each family kept a tin or pewter mold for making candles. Wax candles were also used; some farmers kept hives of bees for the wax as well as for the honey, while others made candles from the berries of the bayberry bush, which still grows in large quantities along the Atlantic coast. Illumination was afterwards much improved by the use of whale oil, burned in pewter or glass lamps.

For many years, the only method of striking a light was by means of a steel flint. As Charles Dickens afterwards said, "If you had good luck, you could get a light in this way in half an hour." Every effort was made to keep the fire from going out; and if this happened, some member of the family, usually the small boy, was sent to bring live coals from the neighbor. The first practical friction matches were introduced in 1827.

Clothing. On the frontier settlements, deer skins tanned as soft as cloth were much used for men's clothing, while moccasins like those worn by the Indians supplied the place of shoes. As the country became more settled, the entire family was often clothed in homespun, the product of the household loom. The Massachusetts Puritans wore plain clothes, and forbade the purchase of garments trimmed with lace, or adorned with slashed sleeves, belts, or ruffles; while silk hoods and scarfs, beaver hats, and silver shoe-buckles also came under the ban. Even the women Quakers in Pennsylvania had to be warned against wearing hoop petticoats, scarlet shoes, and puffed or powdered hair. But these laws were in force only during the early colonial period; and by the middle of the eighteenth century, costumes were often quite elaborate. Even little girls in wealthier families wore long-armed gloves and masks of cloth or velvet to protect them from the rays of the sun. When George Washington sent to England for an outfit for his four-year-old stepdaughter, his order included coats of silk, masks, caps, bonnets, ruffles, necklaces, fans, leather pumps, silk shoes, and four pairs of kid gloves.

Men's clothing was often as rich and varied as that of the women. The wealthier colonists had their clothes made in

London according to the latest fashion, — tall hats of beaver-skin, ruffled shirts, coats and cloaks of fine broadcloth, knee breeches, silk stockings, and shoes with large silver buckles. An English traveler in 1740 said that the men of Boston dressed as gay every day as courtiers in England at a coronation.

Amusement and Sports. The New England Puritans regarded pleasure as sinful, and frowned upon all forms of worldly amusement. To these earnest pioneers, work was the chief business of life, and whatever interrupted it was a waste of time. Dancing and card playing were of course prohibited, and even music was not looked upon with favor, except in the churches. But as the colonists became more prosperous, they took a different view of amusements. Afternoon teas became fashionable, until the tax on tea made these entertainments unpatriotic. Just before the Revolution, the women of New England organized the Daughters of Liberty, a patriotic society which met in spinning matches to spin native wool and to encourage the opposition to tea drinking. In the country the people held harvest festivals, apple parings, candle dippings, and corn huskings. Music was no longer confined to psalms in the churches, and singing schools were everywhere popular.

The Dutch settlers were fond of amusement and sports, so that life in New York was from the first much gayer than in New England. Music was very popular, and many concerts were given; while outdoor sports included shooting and fishing, bowling, golf, tennis, cricket, and horse racing. There was a race track on Long Island as early as 1666, and from then until the Revolution, horse racing was a regular event of each year. The southern planters were also very fond of outdoor sports, especially horse racing and fox hunting.

Religious Life. Most of the colonists held sincere religious beliefs, and many had sought refuge in America in order to have freedom of worship.

The Puritan or Congregational Church was the principal religious body throughout New England, except in Rhode Island where the Baptists were in the majority. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, there were many Quakers,

together with large numbers of Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Baptists. New York was the home of almost every sect, although in earlier days the Dutch Reformed Church was the established church of the colony. There were many Roman Catholics in Maryland, but later the Episcopal Church became the leading one in this colony, as it was from the outset in Virginia and the Carolinas.

The Witchcraft Delusion. The colonists of the seventeenth century brought with them from Europe the belief in witchcraft. Superstitions die hard; and from earliest times, men believed in the existence of evil spirits that sometimes entered the bodies of people, usually friendless old women, and caused them to work harm to their neighbors. In England, Parliament actually passed a law which punished with death any one guilty of "Witchcrafte and dealing with evill and wicked Spirits." Cotton Mather, one of the leading ministers of Boston, wrote a long treatise on witchcraft; and his book helped to promote the strange delusion that seized upon the people of Salem in 1692.

The trouble began when the children of one Samuel Parris indulged in strange antics, saying that certain persons whom they or their father disliked had bewitched them. Soon there were accusations on all sides, and scores of people were arrested and brought before a special court for trial. Many confessed their guilt; they had actually talked to the devil, who took the form of a tall black man with a high-crowned hat. To others, a black dog had appeared and said, "Serve me." One woman related that she was riding on a broom-stick with another witch, when suddenly the stick broke; but by holding fast to the witch in front of her, she reached her destination safely. So overwrought were the minds of the people that they actually believed these silly tales. When the craze came to an end, twenty persons had been convicted and put to death, fifty-five had been pardoned after confessing their guilt and one hundred and fifty more were in jail awaiting trial.

Schools and Newspapers. Nearly every town in New England had a public school for the education of its children,

Massachusetts Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Many of the men who were prominent patriots during the Revolution and the troubles that preceded it, while students at Harvard, were residents of Massachusetts Hall.

and the district school system was carried into the West by the New Englanders who emigrated into the Ohio Valley. The General Court of Massachusetts ordered in 1647 that a common school should be established in every township containing fifty families, and a grammar school in the larger towns. This was the beginning of the public school system which has ever since been the pride of the people of Massachusetts. The Middle Colonies also had public schools, although they were not so general as in New England. At the South, public schools were almost unknown because the plantations were too far apart for a district school system. The wealthier planters had private tutors for their children, and their sons were often sent to colleges in England or at the North. The first college in the United States was Harvard College, founded in 1636. Other colleges established before the Revolution were William and Mary College, Yale, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.

Public libraries did not exist, and the few books published were chiefly on religious subjects. The first book printed in the colonies was the *Bay Psalm Book*, published in Boston in 1640. Weekly newspapers were printed in the larger towns, the earliest being the *Boston News Letter*, which dates from 1704. By the latter part of the century, there were thirty-seven newspapers in circulation throughout the colonies. The contents of the entire thirty-seven would scarcely fill a dozen pages in one of our modern dailies, and their combined circulation did not exceed a few thousand copies. The early printing press was a crude affair worked by hand, with a capacity of about one hundred small sheets per hour. There were no printing presses in Virginia until 1729, and Governor Berkeley thanked God for it, "as printing presses," he said, "bring heresies in the world, and libel the best government that the world ever saw."

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From the Original by Trumbull in the Yale Gallery, New Haven.

The Signing of the Declaration of Independence

Facing President John Hancock's table stand John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin.

CHAPTER XII

THE QUARREL WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY

Conditions after the French and Indian War. The life and death struggle with France was ended. The genius of Pitt had wrested Canada from the French, but the war left Great Britain staggering under a debt of $700,000,000. The colonies had borne a large part in the contest, and were also deeply in debt. The conflict taught the colonists something of the art of war, something of the importance of united action. Braddock's defeat showed them that the British regulars were not invincible, and the Treaty of Paris freed them from the menace of French power in America. Was Great Britain's annexation of Canada a real gain to her empire? Not if the prophecy of the French statesman, Vergennes, proved true. "I am persuaded," said he, "that England will ere long regret having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They no longer stand in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence."

The New Colonial Policy. After the close of the French and Indian War, the British government resolved to adopt a new colonial policy. For more than a hundred years, the American colonists had been left largely to themselves, and were free to manage their affairs with little interference from the mother country. This policy was now to be changed. The British ministry had decided on a definite and systematic plan for the control of the colonies:

(1) The laws concerning trade and navigation were to be strictly enforced.

(2) A standing army of ten thousand men was to be stationed in the colonies for their defense and protection.

(3) The colonial governors and judges were to be paid out of the British treasury, instead of having their salaries voted by the colonial assemblies. This would make the royal officers independent of the assemblies.

(4) To pay these salaries and to provide part of the cost of maintaining troops in America, Parliament was to levy a tax on the colonies, instead of asking the colonial assemblies to vote grants of money.

Personal Government of King George III. This new colonial policy was due chiefly to the character of the monarch who ascended the British throne in 1760. King George III was of German descent, the third ruler of the Hanover line which succeeded to the British throne in 1714. His mother, Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, brought to England all the traditions of the petty German court to which she was accustomed. In the rearing of her son, she constantly exhorted him to "be a king" in fact, as well as in name. So King George came to the throne a narrow-minded, willful, obstinate man, determined to enforce his own will rather than that of the British people.

By giving lavish bribes of money and offices, the new monarch secured control of Parliament, where his supporters were known as "the King's friends." During the first twenty years of his long reign, King George was able to substitute his own arbitrary rule in place of the constitutional government which Englishmen claimed as their dearest birthright. It was the Englishmen living in the American colonies who took the lead in the struggle against this tyranny; and in doing so, they were really fighting for the liberties of Englishmen in the mother country as well as in the colonies.

Many of England's greatest men understood this, and fully sympathized with the colonists in their resistance to the new colonial policy. Such leaders as William Pitt, Lord Camden, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, and Colonel Isaac Barré, looked upon the cause of the colonists as their own. They realized that the colonists were struggling against the same kind of tyranny which had led to the expulsion of the last Stuart king in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. Unfortunately for their country,

the protests of these patriotic Englishmen were not heeded by the unrepresentative Parliament controlled by King George.

Relation of the Colonies to Parliament. The new colonial policy was doomed to failure partly because it was carried out by such tactless ministers as Grenville and Townshend, still more because the long period of virtual home rule had made the colonists independent in spirit and unwilling to surrender any privileges of self-government. The colonists acknowledged their allegiance to the king, but they denied the authority of Parliament to legislate concerning their domestic affairs. Early in the dispute, the colonists admitted that Parliament had power to pass general acts regulating trade and commerce throughout the entire empire; but they claimed that internal taxes could be levied only by their own assemblies. The British government, on the other hand, claimed that the legislative authority of Parliament over the colonies was supreme and complete. Parliament could tax them or legislate for them on any subject.

The Dispute over Representation. The colonists denied the general authority of Parliament to legislate for them, and quoted the British constitution as their authority. English doctrine running back to Magna Charta (1215) held that taxes could be levied only with the consent of the people given through their representatives. Hence Parliament had no authority to levy taxes upon the colonists, for they were not represented in that body. In answer to this, the king and his ministers said that the colonists were really represented in Parliament, even though they did not vote for its members; for Parliament represented the entire empire, not merely the voters of Great Britain. Much of the bitter controversy that followed arose from the conflicting views of America and Great Britain as to what was really meant by representation.

In the colonies there had long been a territorial basis for representation; thus in New England the towns, and elsewhere generally the counties, sent representatives to the colonial assemblies. Moreover, residence within the particular district was commonly required for both voters and representatives.

Hence the maxim " no taxation without representation " meant to the colonist that no taxes should be levied except by a legislative body in which was seated a member from his district, chosen by the voters of that district.

The British Point of View. In Great Britain a very different view of representation prevailed. In that country no attempt was made to base representation upon population. As a result, ancient boroughs like Tavistock or Old Sarum with less than a dozen inhabitants continued to send one or two members to Parliament; while such flourishing cities as Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool had no representatives at all. Three hundred and seventy-one members, or more than one half of the House of Commons, were chosen by one hundred and seventy-seven persons. In spite of this condition, all Englishmen were held to be " virtually " represented in the House of Commons, since in theory each member of that body represents not a single borough only, but all parts of the empire. Hence the British government claimed that the colonists like other Englishmen were virtually represented in the House of Commons. If they did not directly participate in the election of its members, they were at least no worse off in that respect than the great body of Englishmen at home; for of the 8,000,000 people in England, only about 150,000 had the right to vote for members of Parliament.

This theory was scoffed at by William Pitt, the great champion of the colonies in the House of Commons. Pitt declared that " the idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man."

The Mercantile Colonial System. Underlying the political causes of the Revolution was a fundamental economic cause, the colonial system. European powers, including Great Britain, looked upon their colonies as settlements made in distant parts of the world for the purpose of increasing the wealth of the colonizing country. Colonies were to furnish a market for the production of raw materials which the mother country wanted to buy, and for the consumption of manufactured

products which the mother country wished to sell. In this way it was thought that a self-sustaining empire would be built up, an empire that would not be dependent on foreign countries for the commodities needed by its people.

In accordance with this doctrine, Great Britain passed measures which aimed to utilize her colonies so as to benefit British merchants and manufacturers. For example, the Navigation Acts provided that goods carried to or from the colonies must be carried in British or colonial ships. The Acts of Trade forbade the shipping of the chief colonial products to any country except England, where they must pay heavy duties; while similar duties were imposed on goods shipped from one colony to another. The colonists objected especially to the Molasses Act of 1733, and to the Sugar Act of 1764, which were intended to suppress the trade between the colonies and the French West Indies. New England enjoyed a flourishing trade with these islands, receiving molasses and sugar in exchange for her flour, lumber, and fish. Had the Molasses Act been strictly enforced, the prosperity of New England would have been seriously affected. But the enforcement of these various acts was generally ineffective; the customs officers and even the royal governors often connived at their evasion.

Home Rule the Real Issue. In fairness to Great Britain, it should be noted that some of her trade laws helped the colonies. The Navigation Act made New England a shipbuilding community by giving colonial ships the same monopoly enjoyed by British-built vessels. Parliament also encouraged certain colonial industries by offering bounties on the production of hemp, lumber, tar, and turpentine. But in spite of some favorable measures, Great Britain's economic system was resented by the robust people living three thousand miles away from the seat of power. At length the British ministry under Grenville's leadership determined to enforce the acts of navigation and trade. Orders were sent to the American customhouses and to the British warships along the coast to use every effort to prevent smuggling. The strict enforcement of these acts threatened the commercial prosperity of the colonies; and thus the real issue between them

and Great Britain became one of home rule. Were the colonies to be allowed to map out their own destinies, or were they to be held as a storehouse and market for the people of Great Britain? Economic freedom or dependence was therefore the supreme issue. As one writer says: "American independence, like the great rivers of the country, had many sources; but the head spring which colored all the streams was the Navigation Act."

Writs of Assistance. Once landed, smuggled goods could be easily concealed in private stores and dwellings. Hence the customs officials were instructed to use writs of assistance to aid them in discovering contraband goods. The writ of assistance was objected to with good reason; for it did not name the house to be searched, nor did it describe the goods to be seized. The writ authorized the revenue officers to search any suspected place; and since it was good for an indefinite period, any man's house might be broken into and ransacked at any time. These writs were very unpopular, for they violated the ancient principle of English liberty that "every man's house is his castle," not to be entered without his consent. The merchants of Boston determined to oppose the writs in the courts, and James Otis, a young Boston lawyer, resigned a royal office to argue their case. Otis undertook to convince the court that such tyrannical writs ought never to be issued. He pointed out that in Great Britain a similar abuse of power "had cost one king his head, another his throne." The decision of the court was in favor of the writs, but the fiery eloquence of Otis encouraged the colonists in their resistance to arbitrary power. "Then and there," wrote John Adams many years later, "the child Independence was born."

The Stamp Act, 1765. More dangerous still to the liberties of the colonists was the famous Stamp Act passed by Parliament in the spring of 1765. This act placed a tax upon all commercial and legal documents used in the colonies, such as deeds, mortgages, and wills; while every newspaper, pamphlet, and almanac must also bear a government stamp. The stamps cost from one cent to fifty dollars, according to the importance of the document on which they were placed. This measure was proposed

by Grenville as a part of the new colonial policy decided on by the British government. The colonies were to be taxed, not for the support of the home government, but to help pay the salaries of colonial officials and part of the expense of maintaining troops in America. When he first proposed the Stamp Act, Grenville gave the colonies a year in which to suggest some other means of raising revenue which might be "more convenient to them." Although most of the colonies protested strongly against the proposed tax, they did not suggest any practical substitute.

From the Painting by Chappel.

The Debate on the Stamp Act

The Speaker of the House of Burgesses, meeting in Richmond, May, 1765, interrupting Patrick Henry in his famous speech against the Stamp Act.

What America Thought of the Stamp Act. The news that Parliament had actually passed the Stamp Act was received in America with indignation and alarm. Soon a storm of protest burst forth. The Virginia legislature was then in session; among its members was a young lawyer named Patrick Henry, soon to become famous as a brilliant orator. Henry now moved the adoption of a series of resolutions which he had written upon the blank leaf of an old law book. The resolutions declared that the colonists had all the rights of British subjects, including

the right to be free from taxes except those voted by their own representatives. No legislative body except their own assembly could lawfully impose taxes on the people of Virginia; and any one who asserted the contrary should be deemed an enemy of the colony. Virginians need not obey the Stamp Act or any other tax law not passed by their own assembly.

Many of the older members opposed these resolutions, but the fiery eloquence of the young orator carried the day. The climax of Henry's speech came with the thrilling words which made him famous for all time: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third" — ("Treason!" shouted the Speaker, and cries of "Treason! treason!" rang through the hall). After a moment's defiant pause, the orator concluded: "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." Henry's resolutions were adopted by a close vote, and published throughout the colonies. As Governor Bernard of Massachusetts said, they proved "an alarm bell to the disaffected."

The Stamp Act Congress. In order to unite the colonies in their resistance, the legislature of Massachusetts proposed that a general congress should be held. Accordingly, delegates from nine of the colonies met at New York in October, 1765. The Stamp Act Congress adopted a "Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonists" which proclaimed:

(1) That the colonists have all the rights and privileges of natural-born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

(2) That it is an undoubted right of Englishmen to be taxed only with their own consent, given through their representatives.

(3) That the people of the colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in Parliament.

(4) That only their representatives, the colonial assemblies, can tax them.

(5) That it is the duty of the colonies "to endeavor, by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, and humble application to both houses of parliament, to procure the repeal of the Stamp Act, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce."

Popular Resistance. It was not alone by such peaceful and legal methods that opposition to the tax was shown. The first news of the Stamp Act had called into existence groups of secret societies, known as "Sons of Liberty," whose members were pledged to resist the obnoxious law. This name was first applied to the colonists by Colonel Isaac Barré, one of their staunch friends in the British Parliament. In an eloquent speech, he had referred to the colonists as "those sons of liberty." The mothers and daughters formed similar clubs called "Daughters of Liberty." They agreed to weave in their own homes the cloth formerly purchased from Great Britain. Leading merchants everywhere signed non-importation agreements, binding themselves not to import British goods until the Stamp Act should be repealed.

November 1, 1765, had been fixed as the day when the act was to go into effect. As the time drew near, serious riots occurred. Boxes of stamps as they arrived were seized and destroyed by mobs. Stamp distributors were burned in effigy, and compelled by threats to resign their office. In Boston, the fine residence of Chief Justice Hutchinson was sacked by a mob and his valuable library destroyed. The lieutenant governor of New York talked of firing on the people. He was warned that if he did so, he would be hanged on the nearest lamp-post. In the face of this opposition, it was impossible to enforce the law. It was everywhere ignored, but business went on as before. Some editors issued their papers with a death's head and cross-bones where the stamp should have been placed. It was plain that the law could not be enforced except at the point of the bayonet.

Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766. The effect of this opposition began to be felt in Great Britain. Trade with the colonies fell off rapidly as a result of their policy of non-intercourse; while British factories were closing down, and thousands of men were thrown out of work. Public opinion in the commercial and manufacturing towns demanded the repeal of the law that was so hateful to the colonists; but the British landowners, who were paying a land tax of four shillings on the pound, insisted that it be enforced. A stormy debate took place in Parliament

over the proposal to repeal. Pitt and Burke in the House of Commons, and Camden in the House of Lords, championed the cause of the colonists. In an eloquent speech urging the repeal of the act, Pitt exclaimed: "The gentleman tells us, America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

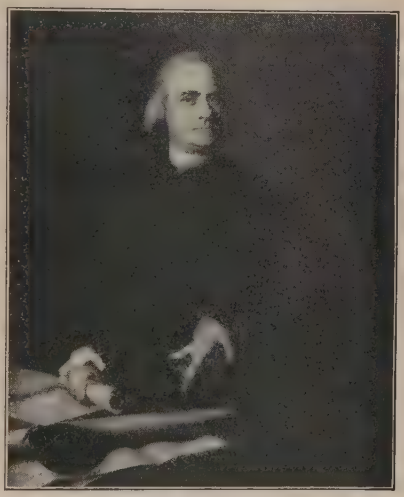
The Stamp Act was finally repealed in March, 1766. But along with the repeal, Parliament passed an act declaring its right to make laws binding upon the colonists "in all cases whatsoever." Thus Parliament still claimed the right to tax the colonies, while admitting that the Stamp Act was inexpedient. The news of the repeal was received in America with universal rejoicing. Vessels in the harbors were decked with flags, bonfires blazed in every town, loyal addresses of thanks were voted by the colonial assemblies.

The Townshend Acts, 1767. If the colonists thought that the repeal of the Stamp Act meant that Great Britain had given up the principle in dispute, they were soon to find out their mistake. The very next year after the repeal, a new plan for taxing the colonies was laid before Parliament. Its author, Charles Townshend, said: "I know the mode by which a revenue may be drawn from America without offense." The colonists had objected to the Stamp Act on the ground that it was an internal tax; but they admitted the right of Parliament to levy external taxes, or duties on imported goods. The British ministry determined to take the colonists at their word, and tax them by the old method of import duties. So Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, which placed duties on glass, lead, paper, paints, and tea, when these articles were brought into the colonies. The duties were to be collected at the seaports by a host of newly appointed revenue officers, armed with writs of assistance, and aided by British soldiers and ships.

The Townshend Acts were as dangerous to liberty as the Stamp Act itself. Not only were the colonists to be taxed

without their consent, but part of the revenue was to be used to pay the salaries of colonial governors and judges. Up to this time, these salaries had been voted by the colonial assemblies; now the royal officials were to be paid by the British government, and made independent of colonial control. The acts also took away the time-honored right of trial by jury. Persons accused of violating the revenue laws were to be tried in the admiralty courts, without a jury.

Opposition to the Townshend Acts. Once more a stream of petitions, remonstrances, and resolves was sent forth across the water to Great Britain. At the request of the Massachusetts Assembly, Samuel Adams drew up a petition to the king, and a circular letter which was sent to the other colonial legislatures. The petition was received by George III with silent contempt, but the letter to the colonial assemblies enraged the king and his ministers. The Massachusetts Assembly was ordered to rescind its letter, and the other assemblies were instructed "to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves."



Samuel Adams

From the portrait by Copley in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The order to rescind was spurned by the Massachusetts Assembly. "We are asked to rescind!" thundered Otis. "Let Great Britain rescind her measures, or her colonies are lost to her forever!" The governor of Massachusetts promptly dissolved the Assembly, but its vote against rescinding was hailed with delight throughout the country. Once more the continent was roused to resistance. The Sons of Liberty became active, non-importation agreements were everywhere

signed, and again the British merchants complained of the loss of their profitable American trade. Parliament determined once more to pacify the unruly colonists. All the import duties were repealed except the tax of threepence a pound on tea. This was retained as a matter of principle. "There must be one tax," said King George, "to keep up the right." But it was this very principle, not the amount of the tax, to which the colonists objected.

Conflict between Citizens and Soldiers in Boston. For some years two regiments of British regulars had been stationed in Boston to aid the customs officials in enforcing the revenue laws. The presence of the soldiers was a constant menace to the liberties of the colonists; and on March 5, 1770, a serious conflict took place between some of the troops and the citizens. Matters reached a climax when eight soldiers under Captain Preston fired on the people, killing five men and wounding six others. Great excitement followed; the next day an immense town meeting under the lead of Samuel Adams demanded the immediate removal of the soldiers from Boston. Governor Hutchinson finally yielded, and the two regiments were sent to Castle Williams, three miles down the harbor.

Violent outbreaks also took place in several other colonies. The men of Rhode Island seized and burned the *Gaspee*, an armed schooner in the British revenue service. In New York City there was a riot and fight between the troops and citizens over the destruction of the liberty pole by the soldiers. These conflicts served to widen the rapidly growing breach between the mother country and her colonies.

Committees of Correspondence. One of the ardent leaders of the patriot cause in Massachusetts was Samuel Adams, whose resistance to the arbitrary measures of Great Britain won for him the title, "Father of the American Revolution." Realizing the value of organized opposition, Adams formed a shrewd plan for securing coöperation among the patriots in different towns. He persuaded the town meeting of Boston to appoint a committee of correspondence for the purpose of acquainting other Massachusetts towns with events in Boston.

The plan soon spread to other towns, then to other colonies, until by 1773 there were committees of correspondence in six of the colonies. There was as yet no general congress for united action; these committees in part served this purpose, and thus paved the way for some kind of union.

Sentiment of the People in England. Many people in England sympathized with the colonists, and were opposed to the attempts of the British government to coerce them. But since these Englishmen were so unfairly represented in Parliament, they had little influence upon its policy. In a letter written from London to the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, Benjamin Franklin said: "With regard to the sentiments of people in general here concerning America, I must say that we have among them many friends and well-wishers. The Dissenters are all for us, and many of the merchants and manufacturers. There seems to be, even among the country gentlemen, a growing sense of our importance, a disapprobation of the harsh measures with which we have been treated, and a wish that some means might be found of perfect reconciliation."

The Offer of Cheap Tea. Parliament had voted to keep the duty on tea; and at last King George and his ministers hit upon what they thought a clever scheme to induce the colonists to pay the tax. The East India Company, which imported the tea from China, was obliged to pay a duty of one shilling a pound at English ports. The British government decided to remit the entire amount of this duty on all tea exported to the colonies. Hereafter the only tax on tea sent to America would be that of threepence a pound, collected at American ports. This made tea cheaper in the colonies than it was in England. The king felt certain that the colonists would readily pay the tax in order to have cheap tea. He was determined, by insisting upon the tax, "to try the issue with America."

In the autumn of 1773, the East India Company sent ships laden with tea to the ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The British government soon discovered that the colonists would not give up the principle at issue for the sake of cheap tea. Again the country was roused to resistance,

even more violent than in case of the Stamp Act. Immense public meetings were held at New York and Philadelphia. The agents to whom the tea was consigned were forced to give up their commissions, and the ships were sent back. At Charleston the cargo was landed, but the agents resigned and no one would buy the tea. The Boston agents refused to resign, or to order the tea sent back; and so it was at Boston that the issue was fought out.

Faneuil Hall, Boston

Built 1742; interior destroyed by fire January 13, 1761; restored by proceeds from a public lottery. Scene of the "Sons of Liberty" meeting held March 18, 1767, after the repeal of the Stamp Act. First meeting in protest against the tax on tea was held here November 5, 1773. Faneuil Hall is called "The Cradle of American Liberty."

The Boston Tea Party. A monster mass meeting at the Old South Meeting House voted that the tea should be sent back to England in the ship which brought it over. The customs officers refused to permit this, and for a time it seemed that the tea would surely be landed. On December 16, 1773, a throng of seven thousand people assembled at the Old South Meeting House to consider what should be done. "Who knows," asked John Rowe, "how tea will mingle with salt water?" Loud applause followed the suggestion. An hour after nightfall,

when the church was dimly lighted with candles, a messenger returned with the governor's final refusal to permit the tea to be sent back. Samuel Adams at once arose and said: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." Scarcely had he uttered these words when a warwhoop was heard in the streets. About fifty men disguised as Mohawk Indians were on their way to Griffin's Wharf. Boarding the ships, they quickly emptied the three hundred and forty chests of tea into the water. Next morning the salted tea lay in long rows on the beach, and Paul Revere was riding to Philadelphia with the news of Boston's defiance of British power.

The Five Intolerable Acts, 1774. The Boston Tea Party looked like sedition to the home government. "The question now brought to issue," said one member of Parliament, "is whether the colonies are or are not the colonies of Great Britain." Another member declared that the town of Boston ought to be completely destroyed. Determined to coerce and punish the colonists, Parliament promptly passed the five measures known in our history as the "Intolerable Acts."

(1) The Port Bill closed the port of Boston until the town should pay for the tea. The blockade was to be enforced by British warships, and the people starved into submission. But the other colonies hastened to the aid of oppressed Massachusetts. From Virginia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, large supplies of corn, wheat, flour, and rice were sent overland to Boston.

(2) The Regulating Act remodeled the charter of Massachusetts, and destroyed the free institutions which had flourished there for a century and a half. Town meetings, those "nests of sedition," could no longer be held except with the governor's consent; the colonial assembly lost its most important rights, while the royal governor became all-powerful.

(3) The Administration of Justice Act provided that an officer or soldier accused of murder in putting down riots or while enforcing the revenue laws, might be taken to another colony or to Great Britain for trial. Ordinarily a person so accused would have a jury trial in Massachusetts.

(4) The Quartering Act was intended to secure accommodations for the troops sent to America. If the colonies did not provide barracks on demand, the governor might order "uninhabited houses, barns, or other buildings" to be used, upon making a reasonable compensation to the owners.

(5) Finally, the Quebec Act extended the boundary of that province southward to the Ohio River, thus, as the colonists thought, setting aside the territorial claims of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia. This vast region was to be governed by a viceroy with despotic powers; within it there should be no popular meetings, no freedom of the press. "This," declared Lord Thurlow, "is the only sort of constitution fit for a colony." "Was it," asked the colonists, "the condition to which all were soon to be reduced?"

To enforce these coercive measures, General Gage with four regiments of soldiers was sent to Boston. On the first day of June, 1774, he was to close the port; he was to arrest the leading patriots, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and send them to England for trial; and he was authorized to order the soldiers to fire on the people, if necessary to carry out his orders.

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Colonists Burning the Stamp Seller in Effigy

CHAPTER XIII

THE DAWNING OF INDEPENDENCE

The First Continental Congress, 1774. The British government was soon to learn that it could not single out Boston for punishment; the other colonies realized that the cause of Massachusetts was their own. From Virginia now came the suggestion for a general congress "to deliberate on those measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require." Massachusetts issued the call, and on September 5, 1774, the First Continental Congress assembled at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. All of the colonies except Georgia were represented in this famous body; and its fifty-five delegates included many of the ablest men in America. Massachusetts sent John Adams, one of the earliest advocates of independence, and Samuel Adams, shrewdest of political leaders. Connecticut sent her sturdy shoemaker statesman, Roger Sherman. Pennsylvania was represented by John Dickinson, whose "Farmer's Letters" had so well pleaded the American cause. From New York came John Jay, afterwards our first Chief Justice. South Carolina was represented by

From the Original in Independence Hall.

Roger Sherman

One of the committee which drew up the Declaration of Independence.

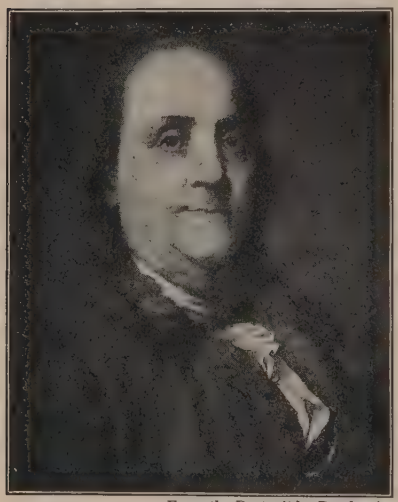
two members of the Stamp Act Congress, Christopher Gadsden and John Rutledge. Virginia sent three famous men, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and George Washington.

By unanimous vote, the Congress adopted a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances," demanding the repeal of thirteen acts of Parliament claimed to be in violation of colonial rights. An agreement known as "The Association" was signed, pledging the colonists not to import or consume British goods until the obnoxious acts should be repealed. The exportation of goods to Great Britain was likewise forbidden after September, 1775. A resolution was passed approving the opposition of Massachusetts to the Intolerable Acts. If force was used in attempting to execute them, "all America ought to support the inhabitants of Massachusetts in their opposition." Congress also drew up addresses to be sent to the people of Great Britain, to the king, and to the colonists. Before adjourning, it was decided that a second Continental Congress should meet the next year, unless Great Britain repealed her oppressive measures.

Debate in the House of Lords. When the addresses and resolves of the Continental Congress were laid before Parliament, William Pitt (now Lord Chatham) declared them "unsurpassed by any state papers ever composed in any age or country." In support of his motion that the British troops should be at once removed from Boston, Chatham said: "The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which established the essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. Every motive of justice and policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of Parliament, and by showing a friendly disposition toward your colonies."

Lord Camden, second only to Chatham in debate, likewise supported the cause of the colonists. "This," he declared, "I will say, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a common lawyer: my lords, you have no right to tax America; the natural rights of man and the immutable laws of

nature are all with that people. King, lords, and commons are fine-sounding names; but king, lords, and commons may become tyrants as well as others; it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many as of one. Somebody once asked the great Selden in what book you might find the law for resisting tyranny. 'It has always been the custom of England,' answered Selden, 'and the custom of England is the law of the land.'"



From the Portrait by Duplessis.

Benjamin Franklin

Philosopher, statesman, scientist, diplomat, and author. Colonial agent for Pennsylvania in England, 1757–1762, and 1764–1775.

In answer to this plea, Lord Suffolk replied that the government was resolved not to repeal a single one of the coercive acts, but to use all possible means to bring the Americans to obedience. By a decisive vote, the House of Lords sustained the ministry, and voted down Chatham's motion to withdraw the troops from Boston. Soon afterwards, Chatham, aided by Franklin, drew up a plan for reconciliation with America, but it was rejected by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-two.

Conciliation Fails in Parliament. In the House of Commons, Edmund Burke spoke in favor of conciliation with the colonies. "England," said Burke, "is like the archer that saw his own child in the hands of the adversary, against whom he was going to draw his bow." But the efforts of such friends of liberty as Burke, Fox, Chatham, and Camden proved in vain. Members of Parliament voted an address to the throne, declaring Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, and pledging their lives and property to its suppression. The liberals in Parliament were outvoted but not silenced. They saw that England in its war on America

was really at war with itself. "The colonies," said Dunning, "are not in a state of rebellion, but are resisting the attempt to establish despotism in America, as a prelude to the same system in the mother country. Opposition to arbitrary measures is warranted by the constitution and established by precedent."

Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. Meantime, affairs in Massachusetts were moving swiftly toward a crisis. General Gage with a force of five thousand men held Boston in sullen submission; but he dared not provoke a conflict by arresting Hancock and Adams, or by attempting to disarm the inhabitants. While the British were throwing up fortifications around Boston, the colonists were not idle. In the near-by towns, companies of minutemen were drilling on each village green; stores of muskets and powder and ball were collected and hidden away for the conflict that seemed at hand; and by the spring of 1775, eastern Massachusetts had become an armed camp.

The Old North Church

Parish organized 1650. Present church built 1723. Noted for the spirited reformers and patriots in its congregation.

Now or never, Gage must strike. He determined on a secret expedition which should arrest the patriot leaders, Hancock and Adams, at Lexington, then destroy the military stores hidden at Concord. Toward midnight on April 18, 1775, eight hundred British soldiers crossed the Charles River in boats, and started on the road to Lexington. But the patriots were

on the watch. Signal lanterns hung in the belfry of the Old North Church flashed out the warning to swift-riding messengers. Far ahead of the British troops rode Paul Revere, and his warning shouts awakened the farmers along the Lexington highway. Signal fires were lighted on the hilltops; soon the whole countryside knew that the British soldiers were coming.

The monument at Concord to the Minutemen beyond the "rude bridge that arched the flood"

The monument in the foreground marks the spot where the first British soldiers fell.

Warned by Revere, Adams and Hancock made their escape from Lexington and started for Philadelphia, where the Second Continental Congress was soon to meet. At daybreak of April 19, the British reached Lexington, where they were confronted by about sixty minutemen. Their commander, Captain Parker, told his men: "Don't fire unless you are fired on; but if they want a war, let it begin here." A shot was fired, by which side is not certain; then came a volley from the British soldiers which killed eight men and wounded many others. Unable to oppose a force that outnumbered them ten to one, the minutemen fell back in confusion.

The British Retreat to Boston. From Lexington the British forces marched on to Concord, only six miles away, where they destroyed a few cannon and other military supplies. Toward

noon they began their retreat to Lexington. The countryside was aroused by this time. From the shelter of trees, rocks, and fences, a deadly fire was poured on the British regulars, until the retreat became a rout. At Lexington they must have surrendered had not strong reinforcements under Lord Percy come to their rescue. With nearly two thousand men under his command, Percy had to fight every foot of his way back to Boston along a highway swarming with deadly marksmen. The fighting did not end until nightfall, when the wearied British soldiers found shelter in Charlestown under the guns of the king's ships.

As a result of this memorable nineteenth of April, all America realized that war had actually begun. From every hill and valley of New England, men left their farms to aid the patriots of Massachusetts. Within three days after Lexington, General Gage was no longer a besieger; he was himself surrounded in Boston by an untrained army of 16,000 men.

The Battle of Bunker Hill. Nearly two months passed, and still the British dared not risk another engagement. Large reinforcements arrived from England in May, until General Gage had under his command 10,000 veteran soldiers. Even with this strong force, his position was seriously threatened. Should the patriots seize and fortify the hills north of Charlestown, their batteries would command Boston. So Gage determined to occupy Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, two of the heights of Charlestown. The Americans learned of his plan, and on the night of June 16, 1775, Colonel Prescott with one thousand men set out to fortify Bunker Hill. Prescott's little army reached Bunker Hill, but instead of fortifying it, advanced to the near-by Breed's Hill. Here under cover of the darkness, the minutemen hastily threw up a redoubt about six feet in height.

General Gage determined that the works on Breed's Hill should be captured at once. The British might have attacked the Americans from the rear, but Gage disdained this safer plan. The cowardly rebels should be driven out by a direct assault on their front. Three thousand regulars under General

Boston and Vicinity in 1775

Howe were landed at Charlestown. In two divisions they climbed the slope toward the fortifications. Prescott's men, reinforced by militia under Putnam and Stark, awaited the attack. On the British marched, until they were within fifty yards of the redoubt. Suddenly, from within the fortifications came the sharp order to fire, and a deadly volley mowed down whole ranks of the British. Howe's men wavered, then broke and retreated down the hill. Rallied by their officers, the British re-formed their lines and once more came on. At thirty yards they again encountered a murderous fire. Once more they fled down the hill, leaving hundreds of their comrades dead on the slope. Nearly an hour passed before the third attack. This time they were received with only a scattering fire; the Americans had used up their ammunition, and had no bayonets with which to repel a charge. Still the patriots stubbornly resisted, using their muskets as clubs, until Prescott ordered his men to retreat.

The British remained in possession of the hill which they had won at a terrible cost. They had lost 1054 men, or more than one third of their entire force. The American loss was 449 men, most of whom were killed in the hand-to-hand fighting of the final attack. The capture of the hill made it possible for

the British army to remain nine months longer in Boston, but the moral effect of the battle was wholly favorable to the Americans. Their raw recruits had met and hurled back England's brave veterans, retreating only when their ammunition was exhausted. "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price," exclaimed General Nathanael Greene. From now on, there could be no turning back. The Revolution was inevitable,

From the Original by Trumbull in the Yale Gallery, New Haven.

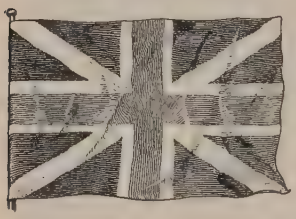
The Battle of Bunker Hill

and Bunker Hill became a rallying cry for the patriots in every battle of the war.

The Second Continental Congress. While these stirring events were taking place in Massachusetts, the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia (May 10, 1775). All of the colonies were represented by delegates. The First Continental Congress had spent its time in discussion, in preparing petitions and remonstrances. Lexington and Concord made it plain that the time for action had come. So the Second Continental Congress took charge of affairs, and governed the country throughout the Revolution. This Congress raised armies and appointed generals, made treaties with foreign powers, issued

paper money, gave advice concerning the formation of state governments, adopted the Declaration of Independence, and drew up and submitted to the states a plan of union. In short, the Second Continental Congress exercised the authority of a national government during the war, deriving its powers only from the common consent of the people.

Washington Chosen Commander in Chief. Who should be chosen to command the untrained militia surrounding Boston, now adopted by Congress as the Continental Army? At the suggestion of John Adams, the choice fell upon George Washington of Virginia, who was even then sitting in Congress in his colonel's uniform. Men recalled that when a youth of twenty-one years, Washington had made a remarkable journey through the Pennsylvania wilderness on a dangerous mission; they remembered how he had saved from utter destruction the wreck of Braddock's army. Washington was a stalwart man, over six feet in stature; his noble bearing and strong, handsome face proclaimed the moral qualities so greatly needed in this hour. Wise and courageous, sound of judgment and steadfast in purpose, Washington was the fittest man in America for the great responsibility placed upon him.

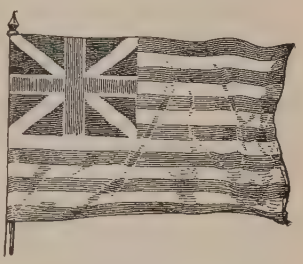


The Pre-Revolution Colonial Flag

The flag probably flown from the main mast of the *Mayflower*. It was authorized by James VI of Scotland, 1603, when he ascended the throne of England as James I. It is a combination of the red cross of St. George for England and the white cross of St. Andrew for Scotland.

On June 21, 1775, the new commander started northward from Philadelphia to the scene of his duties. He had ridden about twenty miles when he met the messengers from Bunker Hill. "Did the militia fight?" was his single question. When told how well they had fought, he replied: "Then the liberties of the country are safe." On July third, the patriot forces were drawn up on parade at Cambridge; and under an elm tree which is still standing, Washington drew his sword and took formal command of the Continental Army.

Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Meantime, two important British forts had been captured by the colonists. Ticonderoga and Crown Point guarded the northern approaches from Canada to the Hudson River. The Americans must secure these strongholds in order to protect New York against attack from Canada. Ethan Allen, a brave frontiersman of Vermont, marched at the head of his "Green Mountain Boys" against Ticonderoga. At daybreak of May 10, 1775, he surprised and captured its little garrison without striking a blow. Another "Green Mountain Boy," Seth Warner, seized Crown Point two days later. With these forts were captured two hundred cannon, together with large stores of musket balls and powder, so greatly needed by the patriots.



The First Navy Ensign
The Cambridge Flag

This flag was hoisted by John Paul Jones on December 3, 1775, as the navy ensign of the thirteen colonies, represented by thirteen stripes. The field consisted of the original colonial flag.

George Washington hoisted it January 2, 1776, as the standard of the Continental Army, and it remained so until the adoption of the Stars and Stripes, which took place June 14, 1777.

The Invasion of Canada. A few months later it was learned that the British governor of Canada, Sir Guy Carleton, was planning to recapture Ticonderoga. The Americans determined to anticipate him by invading Canada. Richard Montgomery was sent by way of Lake Champlain to attack Montreal, while Benedict Arnold marched through the wilds of Maine to strike at Quebec. Montgomery captured Montreal, then pushed on to unite with Arnold's force before Quebec. The combined American army numbered only 1200 men; but the intrepid leaders determined on an attack. On the last day of December, 1775, in a blinding snowstorm, Montgomery and Arnold made a desperate assault upon the citadel. The brave Montgomery was killed early in the attack, and Arnold was severely wounded. After a heroic struggle, the Americans were defeated; so the invasion of Canada came to naught.

The British Evacuate Boston. The patriot army before Boston was made up of brave and determined men, but they were poorly equipped, and without military training or experience. They now had for their commander the greatest military leader of the age. On taking command, Washington at once began to organize and drill his troops, and soon brought order out of chaos. Cannon were dragged on sledges all the way from Ticonderoga for his use, and at last Washington thought that his army was ready to strike a decisive blow. On the night of March 4, 1776, a furious cannonade from the American batteries occupied the attention of the British. Under cover of the darkness and bombardment, Washington sent troops to occupy Dorchester Heights, south of Boston. Earthworks were hastily thrown up, and next morning saw this force in a position to bombard the town and destroy every ship in the harbor.

Howe feared to attack the Americans in their strongly entrenched position. There was but one other course, and that was to abandon Boston. Accordingly he ordered his army on board the British men-of-war in the harbor. Accompanied by about one thousand Loyalists, or colonists who sided with King George, Howe sailed for Halifax to await the arrival of reinforcements for his summer campaign. This was Washington's first great stroke in the war, and it was a most successful one. With the loss of only a score of men, he had cleared New England of the invading army. From this time on, Boston and all of New England (except Newport) remained in the hands of the colonists.

The Movement for Independence. When the Revolution began, only a few of the more radical patriots, men like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, were in favor of separation from Great Britain. Washington himself wrote: "When I first took command of the Continental Army, I abhorred the idea of independence." It was to secure redress of grievances, to maintain their rights as Englishmen, that the colonists took up arms. But by the close of the year 1775, the tide of public opinion in America was setting strongly in favor of independence. There were several causes for this change of feeling.

The Continental Congress had sent to the king an "olive-branch" petition, humbly asking for a redress of grievances. But the king refused even to look at the petition, and issued a proclamation denouncing the Americans as rebels (August, 1775). Parliament then passed an act closing all American ports, and declaring that the colonies had forfeited the protection of the mother country.

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* caused many persons to accept the author's plea for independence. This pamphlet stated the case of the colonists in simple, plain language which all could understand. One hundred thousand copies were sold within a few months. What many men were beginning to think was here boldly stated. "Of what use are kings?" asked Paine. "Of more worth is one honest man to society than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived. . . . The period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last recourse, must decide the contest. The appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge."

One after another, the offensive measures such as the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, and the Boston Port Bill had drawn the colonies together in common interest. The seeds sown by Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry were bearing fruit. New ideals of liberty and new principles of self-government had developed in the minds of the colonists. They now realized the value of united action and they had gained a feeling of self-reliance. Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill had broken the remaining ties of loyalty to the mother country. The British evacuation of Boston gave to the colonists a true sense of their strength in union. The blockading of the colonial ports helped to make the colonists self-dependent. The dispatch from England of many warships and all available troops, as well as several thousand hired German soldiers, called Hessians, to crush the rights of America, aroused intense indignation. Finally, the British government itself had declared that the colonies were outside the protection of the Crown.

Adoption of the Declaration of Independence. At every fireside in America, the question of independence was being

discussed. North Carolina was the first colony to instruct her delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. Other colonial assemblies soon followed her example. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, acting on the instructions of the Provincial Congress of Virginia, introduced in the Continental

The Pennsylvania State House, Later Known as Independence Hall, Philadelphia

Built, 1730, on ground set apart by William Penn for City Buildings. Liberty Bell hung in tower, 1752; re-cast, 1753; tolled for call to arms at news of Concord and Lexington, April 25, 1775; July 8, 1776, tolled for reading of the Declaration of Independence; July 8, 1835, bell cracked in tolling for funeral of Chief Justice Marshall.

Independence Hall was the meeting place of the Second Continental Congress, May 10, 1775; after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, Congress returned, July 2, 1778. The Constitutional Convention met here in 1787. The Supreme Court held its first meeting in the low building at the right, February 7, 1791. Congress continued meeting here until it moved to "the shores of the Potomac."

The statue of Commodore John Barry stands in the foreground.

Congress his famous resolution: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." John

Adams of Massachusetts, the "Atlas of Independence," seconded Lee's motion. As some of the delegates were not ready to vote, the question was postponed for three weeks. Meantime, a committee consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston, was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, then in his thirty-third year, wrote the Declaration, one of the immortal documents of history. The first part of the Declaration sets forth the doctrine of political equality, and proclaims the right of revolution for just cause. Next follows a list of grievances which, the colonists held, justified separation from the mother country. Then comes the final declaration, which is identical with the resolution of Richard Henry Lee.

The Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress on the evening of July 4, 1776. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* two days later, and on July 8 was read to a large crowd in the State House yard at Philadelphia. All over the continent the news was received with rejoicing, with the ringing of bells, with bonfires and torchlight processions. "The people," said Samuel Adams, "seem to recognize this resolution as though it were a decree . . . from Heaven." Washington ordered the Declaration to be read at the head of each brigade of his army. The booming of cannon and cheers of the soldiers announced the birth of a new nation.

How the News Was Received in England. In England many former supporters of the colonists took sides with the ministry when the demand of the Americans changed from redress to independence. Hence, when the king opened Parliament on October 31, 1776, he could say that the Declaration of Independence had brought about "the one great advantage of unanimity at home." In the same speech he expressed a desire "to restore to the Americans the blessings of law and order." But that steadfast friend of the colonists, Charles Fox, did not desert their cause. In a speech which thrilled his hearers in the House of Commons, Fox declared that the British ministry itself was responsible for the action of the colonists. "In declar-

ing independence," said he, "they have done no more than the English did against James II. If law and liberty is to be restored to America, why was it ever disturbed? Why did you destroy the fair work of so many ages, in order to reëstablish it by the bayonets of disciplined Germans? If we are reduced to the dilemma of conquering or abandoning America, I am for abandoning America."

Courtesy of George Dudley Seymour

Captain Nathan Hale

In his short but glorious career Nathan Hale embodies the ardent patriotism and spirit of sacrifice which finally brought success to the American cause. Hale graduated from Yale College in 1773, and was teaching in New London, Connecticut, when the Revolution began. The youthful patriot of twenty-one years immediately enlisted, and served with his Connecticut regiment throughout the siege of Boston. After the battle of Long Island, General Washington asked for a volunteer to enter Howe's lines as a spy and secure information concerning the enemy's movements. Captain Hale at once offered to perform this difficult and dangerous service. Disguising himself as a Dutch schoolmaster, he penetrated the British lines, made sketches of their fortifications, and secured the information desired by his commander in chief.

On his way back to the American army, Captain Hale was arrested, and Sir William Howe, without the form of a trial, gave orders for his execution on the following morning. During the night Hale requested that a clergyman might attend him, and also asked for a Bible; but both requests were refused by his jailer. His last words as he stood on the gallows were a fitting close to his sublime sacrifice: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." A statue of the martyred Hale was erected in 1913 on the campus of Yale University. On the pedestal his last immortal words are engraved in bronze.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE MIDDLE STATES

The British Plan of Campaign. The loss of Boston was a severe blow to British pride. King George and his ministers at last realized that it would not be an easy task to crush the revolt in America. The British government determined on a new plan of campaign. The Middle States were to be invaded by an army so powerful that the patriots must realize the hopelessness of further resistance. At the same time, British commanders were to offer the gracious pardon of the king if the colonists would return to their allegiance. Thus Great Britain "held out the olive branch along with the sword."

Military Importance of New York. For several reasons, the control of New York was regarded as the key to the military situation in America:

(1) New York lay at the gateway of the Hudson, whose long valley extends northward close to the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain. Thus the Hudson Valley formed a line straight through the heart of the country, separating rebellious New England from the southern colonies. If the British could secure this line, the colonies would be cut in two. Each section could then be crushed in turn.

(2) New York had the best harbor on the coast, which would afford a splendid base for the landing of troops and supplies. Great Britain's powerful navy could aid and support her army in capturing the city.

(3) Finally, in New York and throughout the Middle States, there were thousands of Tories or Loyalists, who could be relied on to aid the cause of the king.

The Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776. Washington had anticipated this new plan of campaign. As soon as the British left Boston, he hurried his army southward to protect

New York. He had about 18,000 men for the defense of the city, most of whom were untrained and poorly equipped militia. With this force he occupied New York, and threw up fortifications on Brooklyn Heights, situated across the East River on Long Island. To the north, the city was protected by Fort Lee and Fort Washington, on opposite sides of the Hudson. Meantime, General Howe with a large army had taken possession of Staten Island, opposite New York. His brother, Admiral Howe, held the harbor with a powerful fleet. In the Battle of Long Island, Howe easily routed the American troops stationed in front of Brooklyn Heights, and drove them back behind their intrenchments. Mindful of Bunker Hill, the British general did not attempt an assault on the heights. Washington's army now seemed in a hopeless position, for the British ships might enter East River and cut off his retreat. But under cover of night and fog, the fishermen from Salem and Marblehead rowed the American troops across the East River to New York.

Washington Abandons New York. Washington could not hope to defend New York with Brooklyn Heights in the hands of the British. He fell back to White Plains, where another battle was fought. Again he retreated, this time across the Hudson into New Jersey, so as to place his army between the victorious British and Philadelphia. That army was fast losing heart over its repeated defeats. Many of the militia had enlisted for only six weeks, and as their terms expired, whole companies left for their homes. It seemed as if the entire patriot army would melt away. To make matters worse, the British captured Fort Washington with its large garrison, and seized Fort Lee. Still Washington's courage did not fail. Although beaten in nearly every engagement, he had outgeneraled his adversary. The line of the Hudson was still in American control, and the patriot army was still in existence.

The Famous Retreat across New Jersey. To save that fast dwindling army from capture, Washington began his famous retreat across New Jersey. General Charles Lee, who was second in command, was still on the east side of the Hudson with 7000 men. Washington ordered Lee to join him, but that

general disobeyed orders and delayed. Lee's insubordination was due to his jealousy of Washington; he was willing to have him defeated, hoping to succeed him as commander in chief. Greatly outnumbered by the enemy, Washington dared not venture on a battle, but fell back rapidly from place to place until he reached Trenton on the Delaware. With only 3000 men who still followed their devoted chief, he crossed that river into Pennsylvania. Cornwallis was checked in his pursuit, for Washington had destroyed all the boats along the Jersey shore. At Philadelphia, the "rebel capital," all was panic and confusion. The capture of the city seemed a matter of only a few days. Congress in alarm removed to Baltimore, but first passed a resolution giving Wash-

Campaigns in the Northern and Middle States

ington full power "to direct all things relative to the operation of the war."

"These are the times that try men's souls" was the stirring appeal of Thomas Paine in his new pamphlet, *The Crisis*. "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot are falling away." Falling away in bitter truth; for nearly three thousand colonists grasped eagerly at General Howe's offer of a free pardon to all who would take the oath of allegiance to the king. Even Washington wrote to his brother: "If every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army . . . I fear the game is pretty near up."

Washington's Victory at Trenton. The British victories in New York, followed by the flight of the patriot army across New Jersey, convinced the British commanders that the war was practically ended. General Howe was not fond of winter campaigns, and he decided that it was too late in the season for him to occupy Philadelphia. So he returned to New York, leaving strong outposts to watch the broken army across the Delaware.

In this dark hour, Washington resolved to hazard all on a sudden, bold stroke. Trenton was defended by only 1200 Hessians. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington marched down to the Delaware shore with 2400 wretchedly clad men, who left bloody footprints behind them in the snow. Again the Marblehead fishermen manned the rowboats and ferried the troops through the floating ice to the New Jersey shore. At four o'clock in the morning, Washington formed his little army in two columns, one under Greene, the other under Sullivan. They marched the nine miles to Trenton through a driving storm of sleet and snow. The Hessians, who had spent Christmas night in feasting and drinking, were roused in the early dawn by a fierce bayonet charge. Colonel Rall tried in vain to rally his men; he was shot down, and in less than an hour the entire Hessian force was surrounded and captured. Washington's army recrossed the Delaware with a thousand prisoners. This brilliant exploit, at a time when all seemed lost, put new life into the patriot cause.

Another Victory at Princeton. Stirred to action by the news of Trenton, Howe sent Cornwallis to retake the town and make good the defeat. As Cornwallis advanced, Washington withdrew his much smaller army beyond the Assunpink, a small river flowing into the Delaware just south of Trenton. Cornwallis thought he had the American forces in a trap, with a superior force at their front and the broad Delaware behind them. He went to bed in high spirits. "At last we have run down the old fox," said he, " and we will bag him in the morning." In the morning the fox was not there. Leaving his campfires burning, Washington made a midnight march around the left wing of the enemy, and gained the road to Princeton. Here he routed three British regiments on their way to join Cornwallis. At dawn that surprised general beheld a deserted camp. Even then Cornwallis did not know what had happened, until he heard the distant booming of cannon at Princeton. He started in pursuit, but it was too late. Washington quickly withdrew to the heights at Morristown, west of New York, where his army went into camp for the winter. In three weeks of sharp campaigning, Washington had won two battles, captured 2000 prisoners, and recovered the state of New Jersey from the enemy.

Robert Morris and the Finances. The patriot army was poorly fed and poorly clothed; worst of all, the soldiers were not receiving their pay, so necessary to the support of their families. The term of enlistment of the New England troops expired with the year 1776, and they were eager to leave for their homes. Washington promised them a bounty of ten dollars each if they would reënlist, and pledged his private fortune for its payment. In this critical hour Washington wrote to his friend, Robert Morris, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, telling him of his great need. Morris went from door to door in Philadelphia and raised $50,000 in hard cash — not paper money — which he sent to Washington. In this way the army was saved, and the victory of Princeton made possible.

Congress soon afterwards gave Morris the difficult task of managing the financial affairs of the Revolution. It was of

course impossible to raise the large amounts of money needed by taxing the people. Congress borrowed what it could in France and Holland, but relied chiefly on issues of paper money stamped with its promise to pay the bearer in gold or silver. This Continental Currency was not secured by coin, so that its value depended on whatever confidence the people had in the success of the Revolution. Measured in gold, the value of the paper notes was sometimes only a few cents. Many thrifty farmers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania preferred to sell their grain and cattle to the British generals who paid in gold, rather than to the patriot commanders who could offer only paper notes. Washington sadly remarked that it took a wagon load of paper money to buy a load of provisions. A barber in Philadelphia papered his shop with the notes to show his contempt for them; and "not worth a Continental" became a byword.

Robert Morris

From the original painting by Charles Willson Peale in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

Robert Morris might well be called "The Father of Liberty Loans."

The Campaign of 1777. The British government had not given up the plan of securing the line of the Hudson, so as to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies. The campaign of 1777, like that of the year before, had this end in view. A threefold attack was planned:

(1) An expedition under General St. Leger was to sail across Lake Ontario and land at Oswego. After capturing Fort Stanwix, St. Leger was to march down the valley of the Mohawk to Albany.

(2) A powerful army under General John Burgoyne was to

move south from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, and advance on Albany.

(3) General Howe was to advance northward from New York and unite with Burgoyne's army.

The fate of the Revolution turned on this campaign. For the British, success meant the division of the colonies; failure, that France would no longer hesitate to form an open alliance with the patriots.

General Herkimer at Oriskany. The first British expedition met with complete disaster. St. Leger reached Oswego, and with his Indian and Loyalist allies laid siege to Fort Stanwix. The veteran General Herkimer with a few hundred pioneers went to its relief. At the mouth of the Oriskany, he fell into an ambush of the British and their Indian allies. Herkimer was mortally wounded early in the action, but propped up with his saddle against a tree, the old hero continued to direct the battle. After five hours of hard fighting, his men were victorious. General Benedict Arnold soon afterwards came to the relief of Fort Stanwix. St. Leger then made a disorderly retreat to Canada, with a beaten and broken army. One part of the northern invasion had failed.

Burgoyne's Invasion. Setting out from Canada with 8000 men, General Burgoyne captured the powerful fortress of Ticonderoga, and sent an exulting message to England announcing his success. From this point on, his advance was more difficult. The Americans under General Schuyler called the wilderness to their aid. They cut down trees, burned the bridges, filled the waterways with stones and logs, and stripped the country of cattle and provisions. Burgoyne had to cut new roads through the swamp and rebuild many bridges. It took him twenty-four days to march the twenty-six miles to Fort Edward. Meantime, the inhuman conduct of Burgoyne's Indian allies roused the frontiersmen of the north as nothing else could have done. In desperate need of food for his troops and of horses to draw his cannon, Burgoyne sent a force of Hessians to raid the country. At Bennington they were met by Colonel John Stark, the hero of Bunker Hill and Trenton. In a hard-fought

engagement, the New England militia routed the Hessians, and captured several hundred prisoners.

The Battles of Saratoga. Anxiously Burgoyne awaited news from General Howe, who was supposed to come to his aid from New York. Through a strange oversight on the part of the British War Office, Howe did not receive the order to advance up the Hudson. So without concerning himself about Burgoyne, Howe took his army south to attack Philadelphia. Burgoyne was left to grapple alone with the foes who were fast surrounding him. With an army reduced to 5000 men, he crossed to the west bank of the Hudson, near Saratoga. From this point he hoped to fight his way through to Albany. Directly across his line of march was the patriot army, 16,000 strong, under the command of General Gates. The American forces occupied a strong position at Bemis Heights, guarding the road to Albany. Here Burgoyne lost many men in a stubbornly contested fight, without gaining any advantage.

About two weeks later, the British made another attack upon the army of General Gates. This second battle of Saratoga was a decisive victory for the patriots. Burgoyne retreated to Saratoga, but he was hemmed in on all sides. His army was suffering from hunger and fatigue, his hospital filled with sick and wounded men. Howe had failed him, his position was hopeless; and on October 17, 1777, he surrendered his entire army of 5000 men to General Gates. Thus Burgoyne's expedition, the most important sent by Great Britain against her revolted colonies, was completely wrecked. The battle of Saratoga is numbered by the British historian Creasy among the fifteen decisive battles of the world. It marked the turning point of the Revolution, for Europe was now convinced that Great Britain could not conquer her rebellious colonies. Saratoga inspired the patriots all over America. Most important of all, it induced France to ally herself openly with the cause of the patriots.

Our Appeal to Europe for Aid. Soon after the Declaration of Independence, envoys were sent to Europe to secure the alliance of any nations who might be interested in the cause of

American liberty. Some of the envoys were not even admitted to the capitals of the countries to which they were sent; others received only good words. Sent to Prussia, Arthur Lee reached the capital, but King Frederick refused to see him. "There is no name," Lee wrote appealingly, "so highly respected among us as that of your Majesty. Hence there is no King the declaration of whose friendship would inspire our people with so much courage." But much as he hated England, Frederick would

From an old engraving.

Franklin at the Court of Louis XVI

Franklin was received as ambassador December 21, 1776. Aided by Arthur Lee and Silas Deane, he concluded the treaty of alliance with France.

do nothing to aid the colonists; if he did so, he said, the result would be "much inconvenience" for himself. He did permit Lee to see his army, numbering over 200,000 men. Our envoy wrote home that this army was without its peer in Europe, but that it was "only a machine, disciplined by force and caning."

France Becomes Our Ally. Only one country in Europe responded to our appeal for aid. That country was France, and her action was due chiefly to the growing love of liberty among her own people. Braving the danger of capture by

British warships, Benjamin Franklin and two other American commissioners arrived in Paris late in the year 1776. Then past seventy years of age, the genial, witty Franklin became very popular at the court of Louis XVI, and won the warm friendship of the French people. France had secretly aided the colonists with money and supplies almost from the outset. After Burgoyne's surrender, she was ready to form an open alliance. A treaty was signed February 6, 1778, by which France recognized the independence of the United States, and each country promised to make war on the enemies of the other. The treaty of alliance made certain the success of the Revolution; without it, the final victory must have been at least doubtful. France not only aided the patriots with guns, ammunition, and clothing, but she finally sent to America a large army and a powerful fleet. Great Britain immediately declared war on France, and soon afterwards on Spain, the ally of France. Two years later found Holland also numbered among her enemies. Thus three powerful European nations were in arms against Great Britain.

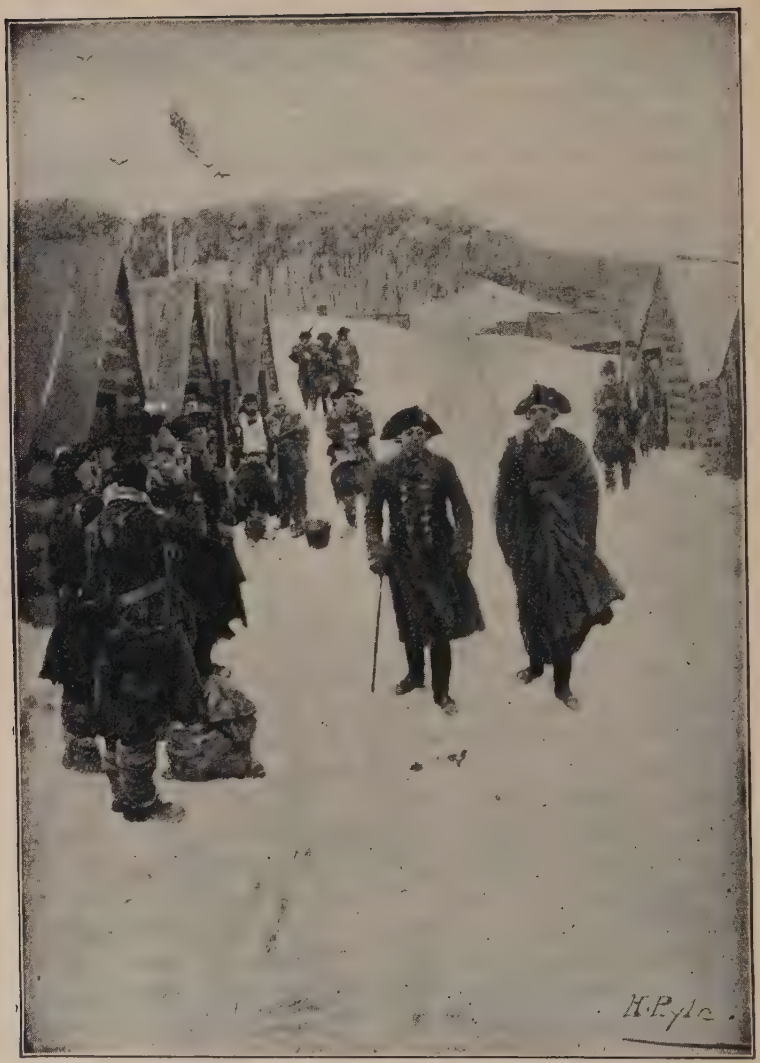
The news of Burgoyne's surrender and of the French alliance was a terrible blow to Great Britain. Even King George and his ministers were ready to make concessions. Parliament repealed its oppressive measures, gave up the right to tax the colonies, and was ready to promise them representation in the British Parliament. These offers came too late. By the time Lord North's peace commissioners reached America, Great Britain had a war with France on her hands, as well as one with the patriots. Congress refused to listen to any offer except that of complete independence.

Battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. It was in June, 1777, that Burgoyne started from Canada on his disastrous campaign. In the same month, Howe made an unsuccessful attempt to march across New Jersey to Philadelphia. He was checked by Washington, who placed his army in so strong a position that Howe retreated to New York. The British general then decided to reach Philadelphia by sea. He landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay with a large army, planning to march overland to Philadelphia. Washington met him in September

at Chad's Ford on the Brandywine, but the American army was defeated after a sharp struggle. Washington could now only delay Howe's advance, and the British occupied Philadelphia on September 26, 1777. Congress had fled some days before to Lancaster. Apparently the defeated patriots had not lost heart, for a few weeks later Washington made a sudden attack on the British at Germantown. Taken by surprise, Howe's men were at first driven back in confusion. But in the dense fog, one brigade of the American army fired on another by mistake, and Washington was obliged to retreat, having just missed a great victory.

The Suffering at Valley Forge. After another month of skirmishing, the patriot army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a hilly region about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. While Howe's army was comfortably housed in the Quaker City, Washington's men suffered terrible hardships in their cheerless camp. The French supplies had not yet arrived; and Washington wrote to Congress that he had 3000 soldiers "unfit for duty, because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked." Men died for want of straw to put between themselves and the cold ground on which they lay. Food was scarce, and hunger added to the pain of the cold. Valley Forge was indeed "an epic of slow suffering silently borne, of patient heroism, and of a very bright and triumphant outcome."

Distinguished Volunteers from Europe. From this winter of hardship and suffering, good was to come. Baron von Steuben, a Prussian officer of Frederick the Great, drilled and organized these ragged troops, and taught them the tactics for which the Prussian soldiers had become famous. At last Washington's men had discipline and organization as well as courage. The Continental Army was never again beaten in any battle where its great leader commanded. There were other foreign officers who, like Von Steuben, came to aid the patriots. One of these was the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French nobleman who left his wife and child to serve the American cause as a volunteer. At the request of Washington, Congress gave Lafayette a high command, although he was only twenty years old;



Washington and Baron von Steuben at Valley Forge

Von Steuben made his first visit to Valley Forge, February 23, 1778. Washington appointed him Inspector-General, March 28. During the winter months, despite the hardships — lack of food, clothing, and warm shelter — the army was drilled into an effective fighting force.

and his services form a noble chapter in the history of the Revolution. With Lafayette came the brave Baron de Kalb, who fell covered with wounds at Camden. Nor should we forget the Polish officers, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, who fought valiantly for the liberty of America.

The Plot to Remove Washington. During this winter, some of Washington's enemies formed a plot to remove him as commander in chief. The leader in this conspiracy was Conway, a foreign officer disappointed because Washington had opposed his promotion. Washington's enemies contrasted his defeats at the Brandywine and Germantown with the brilliant victory of Gates at Saratoga. The attempt to ruin Washington failed miserably, as it deserved. Conway resigned from the army, while Gates suffered in public opinion from his connection with the conspiracy.

Marquis de Lafayette

From an old print made during his last visit to America as the "Nation's Guest," 1824.

The Battle of Monmouth, June, 1778. The news that a French fleet was coming to America compelled the British to abandon Philadelphia, and concentrate their forces at New York. Sir Henry Clinton had by this time succeeded General Howe in chief command. Since the sea was no longer free for the safe transport of British troops, Clinton had to march his army overland through New Jersey. He was closely pursued by Washington, who overtook his rear guard at Monmouth; and only the treachery of Charles Lee prevented the destruction of the British army. That officer was to lead the attacking division, but scarcely had he come within sight of the British, when he ordered his men to retreat.

Only Washington's timely arrival at the front saved his army. Monmouth was a drawn battle, from which Clinton was glad to retreat by the light of the moon. " Clinton gained no advantage except to reach New York with the wreck of his army," was the comment of Frederick across the sea. " America is probably lost for England."

The Loyalists or Tories. The patriot cause did not have the support of all the people in the colonies. It is estimated that nearly one third of the colonists either openly sided with the king, or at least failed to support the Revolution. The Loyalists, or Tories as they were called by the patriot party, were most numerous in the Middle States and in the Carolinas and Georgia. They were usually headed by men who held office under the king. The patriots denounced them as traitors; for in this great crisis when the cause of liberty and justice demanded their support, they refused to help and many even took up arms against their own countrymen. As the Revolution continued, the mutual hatred of patriots and Loyalists became more bitter. Sometimes the Loyalists were tarred and feathered; their houses and barns were often burned, while the owners were driven from their homes and their property confiscated. New York State alone seized Loyalist property to the value of $3,000,000; in return, New York Loyalists to the number of 15,000 enlisted in the British army and navy. At the close of the Revolution, thousands of Loyalists settled in Canada, the West Indies, and Great Britain, not daring to return to their old homes. They founded Ontario in Canada, and helped to settle New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. They became, as one Canadian writer says, the makers of Canada.

CHAPTER XV

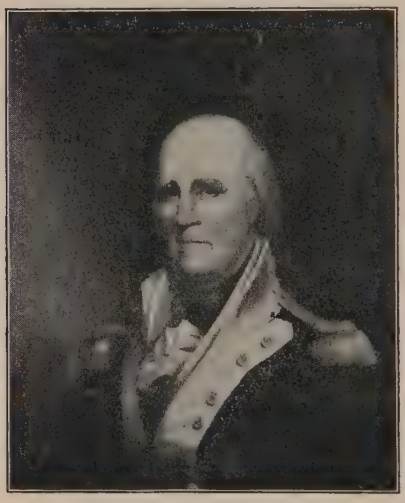
THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION

Indian Outrages on the Northern Frontier. Throughout the Revolution, the fierce Iroquois tribes in the valley of the Mohawk fought on the side of the British; and terrible was the warfare of these savage allies. Many a sturdy frontiersman had shouldered his musket to join Washington's army, leaving the pioneer settlements almost defenseless. Indians and Loyalists now united in savage raids on the unprotected frontier. In the summer of 1778, the beautiful Wyoming Valley in northeastern Pennsylvania was the scene of a fearful massacre. The village of Cherry Valley in central New York was burned a few months later, and fifty of its inhabitants were put to death after horrible tortures. To avenge these massacres, Washington sent General Sullivan with 5000 men against the Iroquois. Sullivan defeated a combined force of Indians and Loyalists near the present site of Elmira, New York. He then laid waste the country of the Iroquois, destroying their crops and burning their villages. The Indian power was checked but for two years longer the tomahawk and firebrand continued to desolate the Mohawk Valley.

Border Warfare in Kentucky and Tennessee. South of the Ohio, bold pioneers from Virginia and North Carolina had pushed westward through the Alleghenies, settling in the region now Kentucky and Tennessee. The westward advance of these backwoodsmen was stubbornly contested by the Indians, whose savage raids gave Kentucky its name of the "dark and bloody ground." Men like Daniel Boone in Kentucky, and Sevier and Robertson in Tennessee, could not be held back, although for years their little settlements were subject to all the horrors of Indian attack. The British commander

at Detroit, Sir Henry Hamilton, was responsible for many of these raids. During the years 1776–1777, he made every effort to unite all the western tribes in a general attack upon our frontier. If the American pioneers could be driven east of the Alleghenies, the vast region between the mountains and the Mississippi would be saved to the British crown.

George Rogers Clark Conquers the Northwest. The boldest defender of the Kentucky frontier was George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian of twenty-five years, and a born leader of men. Clark formed the idea of putting an end to the raids and massacres by attacking the real enemy behind the Indians. He determined to drive the British garrisons from the entire Northwest Territory; that is, out of the region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia approved the plan, and Clark raised a small force of hunters and Indian fighters for his expedition. He embarked his little army on flatboats at a point near Pittsburgh, and floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Cumberland. Landing his men, Clark made a rapid march of one hundred and twenty miles across the country to Kaskaskia. On the evening of July 4, 1778, the British garrison at Kaskaskia was surprised and captured. Other towns in southwestern Illinois now hastened to surrender. Even Vincennes on the Wabash, the most important British post in the Ohio Valley, raised the American flag. Most of the inhabitants of these towns were Frenchmen, who readily accepted American rule



George Rogers Clark

From the original painting by John Wesley Jarvis in the Virginia State Library, Richmond.

when they learned from Clark that France had become our ally. With only 200 men, this intrepid leader wrested from British control a territory nearly as large as the entire thirteen colonies.

Clark's Expedition against Vincennes. Imagine the surprise of General Hamilton at Detroit when he heard this amazing news! Setting out from Detroit, Hamilton soon recaptured Vincennes, and made ready to crush the daring adventurer at Kaskaskia (December, 1778). Clark did not wait for Hamilton's attack, which was to be made the following spring. With a little band of men, he set out in the dead of winter to strike his enemy at Vincennes. In sixteen days Clark made a wonderful march of over two hundred miles across flooded lowlands and swollen streams. For the last four miles his men waded in water, sometimes breast high. They marched Indian file, the dauntless Clark in advance, with twenty-five men told off in the rear to shoot any who tried to turn back. The fort at Vincennes could not withstand such a leader. On February 24, 1779, Hamilton and his garrison surrendered as prisoners of war.

George Rogers Clark won by these victories the proud title of "the conqueror of the Northwest." More than this, he won for his country the Mississippi instead of the Alleghenies as its western boundary; for when the treaty of peace was signed, Great Britain recognized our claim to the western territory, of which we held possession. Thus the attempt of the British to push back the American frontier failed utterly, and Clark's victories opened the way for the march of the American people across the continent.

The West During the Revolution

The War on the Sea. At the outbreak of the Revolution the colonists had no warships, while Great Britain ruled the sea with the strongest navy in the world. Throughout the struggle, Great Britain's powerful fleets gave invaluable aid and support to her armies. To overcome this handicap, Congress in 1775 ordered the construction of thirteen small ships of war. In this way the American navy had its beginning. Congress also ordered private shipowners "to distress the enemies of the United States by sea or land." Vessels acting under these orders were called privateers; they had authority to attack the enemy's vessels, to capture and sell prizes, and do all things that regular men-of-war might do. More than two thousand of these privateers ranged the seas and wrought havoc with British commerce. They cruised up and down the Atlantic coast, swarmed in the West Indies, and even dared to attack their prey in the English Channel and the North Sea. Three hundred British ships were captured in the first year of the war. The bold daring of these privateers made up, in part, for our lack of a navy.

John Paul Jones and His Great Victory. Many gallant officers and sailors won fame in the little navy which was gradually built; but foremost of these was John Paul Jones. In his ship, the *Ranger*, Jones made a bold descent on the coast of Scotland and England, spreading terror among the seaport towns. At length the French government placed under his command a little squadron of five ships. The largest was an old East India merchantman, now converted into a man-of-war. Jones named this ship the *Bon Homme Richard*, in honor of Benjamin Franklin. Her decks were too weak for guns, her guns were too old for service, and her crew was a mixed one of many nationalities; but her commander knew how to fight.

Sailing along the west coast of Ireland and Scotland, Jones captured many prizes. Off Flamborough Head, in northeastern England, he came up with a British frigate, the *Serapis*. About seven o'clock in the evening, the two vessels began a deadly combat that continued far into the night. During the action, the fire from the American ship slackened. The British captain

called out, "Have you struck your colors?" "I have not begun to fight!" rang out the reply from Jones. After repeated efforts, Jones brought his vessel alongside the *Serapis*, and with his own hands lashed the two ships together. His men climbed into the rigging of the *Bon Homme Richard* and shot down every man who showed himself on the deck of the British frigate. Finally a hand grenade was thrown into the main hatchway of the *Serapis*, causing an explosion which killed twenty of her crew. By this time the *Serapis* was on fire in several places, and her brave commander was forced to strike his colors. The *Bon Homme Richard* was in still worse plight; she had been burning for half an hour and was fairly riddled with cannon shot. Jones transferred his men to the defeated *Serapis*, and two days later his battered flagship sank. By this splendid victory, Jones humbled the mistress of the seas, and won the admiration of the world.

John Paul Jones

From the original portrait by Charles Willson Peale in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Clinton's Army at New York. Except for a campaign in the South which resulted in the capture of Savannah, the British did not attempt any important movements in the years 1778 and 1779. France and Spain kept Great Britain occupied in defending Gibraltar and her rich islands in the West Indies. After his retreat from Monmouth, Clinton's army remained cooped up in New York; while from the highlands of the Hudson, Washington kept a vigilant watch upon Clinton's movements. That general contented himself with sending out small detachments to raid the defenseless towns along the coast

From the painting by Edward Moran.

First Recognition of the American Flag, February 13, 1778

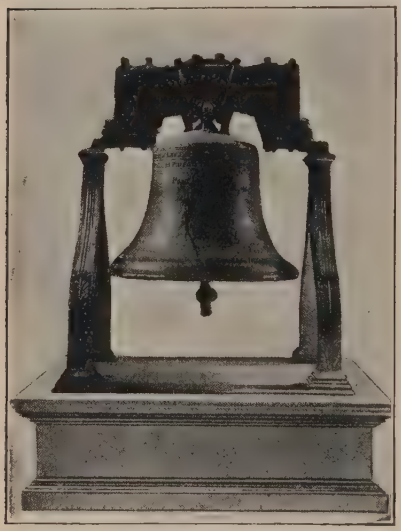
The French fleet under the command of Admiral LaMotte Piquet in the harbor of Quiberon on the Bay of Biscay fires a salute for the American flag. It was flown from the mast of John Paul Jones' frigate, the *Ranger*, carrying an armament of sixteen 6-pounders.

of New England, New Jersey, and Virginia. These expeditions failed to tempt Washington southward, as Clinton perhaps hoped.

Of more danger to the patriots was Clinton's seizure of the strong forts at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, which guarded the upper Hudson. The capture of these forts threatened the American stronghold farther up the Hudson at West Point. Washington determined to recapture Stony Point; and for this task he chose General Anthony Wayne, named "Mad Anthony" by the soldiers for his desperate valor. Twelve hundred picked men were placed under Wayne's command. At midnight on July 15, 1779, with unloaded guns and fixed bayonets, they stormed up the slope at Stony Point and captured its garrison. About a month later, "Light Horse Harry" Lee surprised and captured the British fort at Paulus Hook, where Jersey City now stands. The seizure of these strong redoubts at the point of the bayonet proved that the discipline of Valley Forge was bearing fruit.

The Treason of Benedict Arnold. Following the story of these daring exploits comes the dark page of Arnold's treason. Benedict Arnold was one of the bravest officers in the American army. With Montgomery he had led the desperate assault upon Quebec, and he shared with Morgan the laurels of Saratoga. However, Congress failed to give him the promotion to which he believed himself entitled, and this injured his pride. Afterwards Arnold was accused of misconduct while in command of the city of Philadelphia. A court martial acquitted him of the more serious charges, but found him guilty of imprudent conduct. He was sentenced to receive a reprimand from the commander in chief, but Washington gave the reproof in the kindest words, for he recognized Arnold's bravery as an officer. Enraged at what he considered unjust treatment, Arnold then determined to betray his country in return for British gold. He asked Washington to place him in command of West Point, the key to the Hudson. His request was readily granted, whereupon Arnold offered to betray this stronghold to General Clinton. For this treason he was to receive $30,000, and a major-general's commission in the British army.

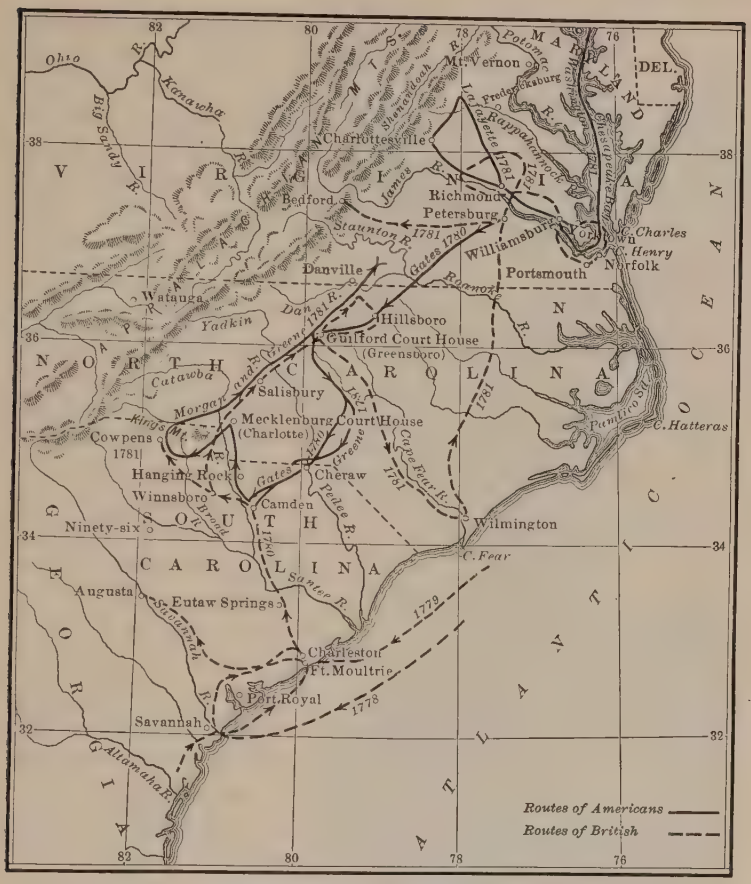
Capture of André and Flight of Arnold. To conclude the details of the infamous bargain, Clinton sent his young adjutant, Major John André, to meet Arnold at West Point. It was arranged that Clinton should come up the Hudson with a part of his fleet, whereupon Arnold would surrender West Point. Washington was then to be urged to bring up reinforcements to certain destruction. The plot was now complete; Arnold furnished André with plans of the fort and a pass through the American lines. Having changed his scarlet uniform for citizen's clothes, André attempted to reach New York by riding down the east bank of the Hudson. As he neared Tarrytown, he was stopped and searched by three Americans who found in his boots the papers delivered by Arnold. He was taken by them to the nearest American post, where he was given a fair trial and condemned to death as a spy.



The Liberty Bell

Arnold received warning of André's capture in time to escape on board a British warship. "Whom can we trust now?" cried Washington to his officers as he rode into West Point a few hours later. Although Arnold received his promised reward, he had earned the contempt of all honest men, and his last days in London were filled with remorse.

The War in the South, 1778–1781. Great Britain had failed to conquer New England, and Burgoyne's surrender meant the loss of the Middle States. As a last resort, the British government planned to conquer America from the South. Georgia was thinly populated, and could offer slight resistance; while



Campaigns in the Southern States

Routes taken by Gates, Greene, Lafayette, Washington, and Cornwallis.

in the Carolinas there were many Loyalists who would rally to the cause of the king. The new plan of campaign began well. The British captured Savannah in 1778, and soon all of Georgia was under their control.

To complete the conquest of the South, Clinton and Cornwallis sailed from New York with an army of 8000 men. They marched against Charleston, South Carolina, which was de-

fended by Continental troops. General Lincoln made the mistake of attempting to hold the city against overwhelming odds. He was soon forced to surrender Charleston, and his entire army became prisoners. South Carolina, like Georgia, now lay prostrate before the enemy. General Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to complete the conquest. This promised to be an easy task, for Lincoln's surrender left the South without an army to meet the invader.

St. Michael's Church, Charleston

Built in 1752. Tower painted black during the Revolution in the vain hope it would escape the notice of the British fleet sailing along the coast in search of Charleston. The British took the bells to London in 1782, but they were returned the next year.

Partisan Warfare of Marion and Sumter. The spirit of southern patriotism was not conquered. Marion, Sumter, and Pickens organized bands of resolute men, whose irregular warfare kept alive the spirit of independence. With less than a hundred followers, Marion and Sumter would make a sudden, desperate assault upon some British outpost, cut off supplies, or strike fiercely at a column of Loyalist recruits. Then as suddenly the "rangers" would disappear in the dense swamp or mountain defile, only to reappear for a new attack at some point far distant. There was no hardship which these men

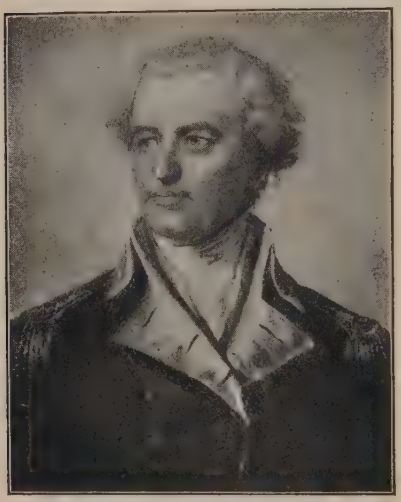
would not endure, no enterprise too desperate for them to attempt. Thrilling stories of their valor are still told by the people of South Carolina and Georgia.

Gates and the Disaster at Camden, August 16, 1780. Without the aid of regular troops, these brave patriots could not hope to dislodge the British army. Washington wished to send General Greene to aid the South, but Congress preferred Horatio Gates. Two thousand of the Maryland and Delaware troops were placed under his command, and he was reinforced by militia from North Carolina and Virginia. Gates soon showed how little he deserved the fame so easily won at Saratoga. Without waiting to organize and equip his troops, he hurled them against Cornwallis at Camden. The raw militia on the American left wing fled without firing a gun. On the right wing, the Continental troops fought with desperate valor. Eight hundred of their number were left dead and dying on the field, including their brave leader, de Kalb. The American army was routed and practically destroyed. Gates left the field with the militia and rode the two hundred miles to Hillsborough, North Carolina, in less than four days. Once more the South was without an army, and the way seemed clear for the invasion of Virginia, the bulwark of the patriot cause.

King's Mountain and the Cowpens. Before this year of disasters had ended, the tide of British victory was stemmed at King's Mountain, on the border between North and South Carolina. Here the backwoodsmen from beyond the Alleghenies surrounded and captured a force of Loyalists and British regulars under the command of Major Ferguson. Three months later, the British suffered another defeat at the Cowpens, in South Carolina. In this battle, General Morgan, who had fought so well at Saratoga, utterly crushed Tarleton, the best cavalry officer in the British army. Tarleton himself escaped by hard riding, but many of his men were taken prisoners. These two defeats cost Cornwallis nearly one third of his army.

Greene's Campaign in the South. Twice a patriot army had been sent to the South, only to have one army captured at Charleston, and another flung away at Camden. A third attempt

was now made to rescue the South, but this time it was a general instead of an army that Washington was sending. The general was Nathanael Greene, next to Washington the greatest commander of the Revolution. With him came "Light Horse" Harry Lee, with his splendid legion of cavalry. Von Steuben, too, was sent to organize the troops, and drill them as only he knew how.



Nathanael Greene

Greene's campaign in the South is the singular record of a general who seldom won a battle, but never lost a campaign. It is the story of three pitched battles, of skillful maneuvers, and masterly retreats. After the battle of the Cowpens, Greene led Cornwallis an exciting chase across North Carolina. Cornwallis burned his heavy baggage in order to overtake Greene, but in vain. Nature seemed to be fighting on the side of the patriots. One river after another rose in flood just after Greene had crossed, delaying the British pursuit. At length, after his long retreat, Greene suddenly turned and offered battle at Guilford Court House. The British claimed the victory, but Cornwallis found that he had been lured two hundred miles away from his base of supplies. The British commander now resolved to invade Virginia, and unite with a large force of Loyalists under Benedict Arnold. Greene followed Cornwallis to the Cape Fear River, then suddenly faced about and captured Camden. By the close of 1781, his superb strategy had wrested from the British every post south of Virginia except Charleston and Savannah.

Cornwallis and Lafayette. When Cornwallis reached Petersburg, he found that Lafayette's little army was at Richmond,

only a few miles away. "The boy cannot escape me," boasted Cornwallis; but he soon learned that he was mistaken. From Richmond to Fredericksburg, Cornwallis pursued Lafayette, who proved as skillful in retreat as Greene himself. When Lafayette was afterwards reinforced by Wayne and Von Steuben, Cornwallis retreated to the coast. In order to keep in touch with the British fleet, he occupied Yorktown on the narrow peninsula between the York and James rivers.

Cornwallis Surrenders at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. Washington had been planning for some time to attack New York with the aid of the French troops commanded by Count Rochambeau. The news from Virginia changed his plans; he determined to march his army four hundred miles southward and crush Corn-

The Moore House, Yorktown

Built in 1713. Here Washington and his staff drew up the terms of surrender for Cornwallis.

wallis. He learned that he could count on the aid of a powerful French fleet under Admiral de Grasse, which had already started for Chesapeake Bay. With the French fleet barring the Chesapeake, a strong land force thrown across the narrow peninsula

From the original painting by John Trumbull.

The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown

General Lincoln (in the center), representing General Washington, is receiving the sword of Lord Cornwallis from General O'Hara.

of Yorktown would have Cornwallis in a trap. With 4000 French soldiers and 2000 of his own Continentals, Washington marched rapidly toward the South. On reaching the head of Chesapeake Bay, his troops were transported by water to Williamsburg. Here Washington joined forces with Lafayette, and the siege of Yorktown began. De Grasse had already beaten off the British fleet, so that Cornwallis could not retreat by sea. On the land side his situation was equally hopeless, for his army of 8000 men was hemmed in by 16,000 American and French soldiers. The bitter end was at hand; and on October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered his entire army.

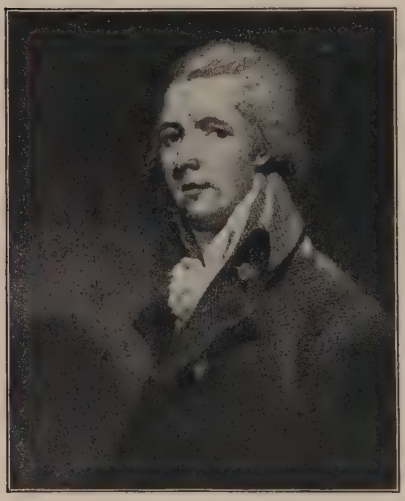
How the News Was Received. Washington's courier reached Philadelphia early in the morning of October 24 with the glad tidings. "Past three o'clock, and Cornwallis is taken!" shouted the night watch. The streets were soon thronged with happy men and women rejoicing over the great victory. Congress went in a body to church for a special service of prayer and thanksgiving. One month later the news reached England. "It is all over! It is all over!" cried Lord North, throwing up his hands in despair. George III threatened to give up his throne rather than acknowledge the independence of the United States; but the stubborn king was beaten even if he did not know it. The British people had tired of the war. Public sentiment compelled Lord North to resign his post as prime minister, and control of the government passed into the hands of the Whig party, which was friendly to the Americans. The system of personal rule, which King George had labored so long to build up, was overthrown for all time. The crowning victory of Yorktown meant liberty for Great Britain as well as independence for America. From that day to this, no British monarch has dared to keep in office ministers who do not possess the confidence of the people.

The Treaty of Peace, September 3, 1783. The war ended with the surrender of Cornwallis, but two years elapsed before the treaty of peace was signed. During these anxious months, Franklin, Adams, and Jay were in Paris, arranging the terms of peace with Great Britain's representatives. Now that independ-

ence had been fairly won, the British government was inclined to deal generously with the new nation. The chief provisions of the treaty were as follows:

(1) Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

(2) The territory of the new nation was to extend from the Atlantic Ocean and the St. Croix River on the east to the Mississippi River on the west, and from the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes on the north to Florida on the south. Thus the United States secured not only the territory of the original thirteen colonies, but all of the great western domain between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi.



William Pitt (the Younger), who Succeeded Lord North as Prime Minister

From an engraving by Holt in the Emmett Collection, The New York Public Library, after the original painting by W. Owen.

(3) Citizens of the United States were to have the right to fish off the coast of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. This concession was of especial value to New England's fishing industry.

(4) Both nations were to have the right to navigate the Mississippi River, which Spain had opened to Great Britain in 1763.

(5) Congress agreed to recommend to the state legislatures the repeal of their laws confiscating the property of the Loyalists.

By a separate treaty with Spain, Great Britain gave back Florida, which she had won in 1763. France gained little by the terms of peace; she had made war not for conquest, but to aid the cause of liberty. The British government once offered to restore Canada to France if she would consent to a separate peace; but that nation stood loyally by the terms of her treaty

of alliance with the United States. France had fought for an idea — that of American liberty ; she wished for no other reward except to see that idea prevail.

The British Evacuate New York — Washington's Farewell. The British forces in New York embarked for England on November 25, 1783, and Washington marched in at the head of

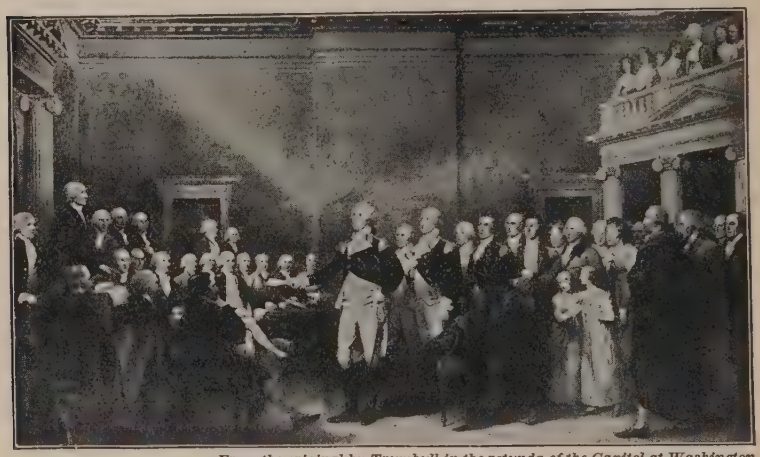
Fraunces' Tavern, Broad and Pearl Streets, New York

Built in 1700 ; bought by Samuel Fraunces, 1762, and made the most popular tavern in the city. A daughter of the proprietor frustrated a plot to poison Washington. Here Washington took leave of his officers at the farewell dinner, December 4, 1783.

his army. A few days later, his officers assembled to bid him a final farewell. Washington addressed them in a voice trembling with emotion: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable. I cannot come to each of you and take my leave, but shall be obliged if you will come

and take me by the hand." One by one they came forward, and Washington clasped each hand in a silent, affectionate farewell. All the company then escorted him to Whitehall Ferry, where he entered his barge. As the boat was rowed from shore, Washington rose and lifted his hat in a farewell salute.

The Revolution was ended. Its triumphant close was due chiefly to the heroic leadership of the noble figure now standing with bared head in the boat that was bearing him southward to peaceful Mount Vernon. Little did Washington realize that his



From the original by Trumbull in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

Washington Resigning His Commission

eight years of military service were soon to be followed by another eight years of splendid leadership as our first President. At Annapolis he paused to appear before Congress and resign his commission. He refused to accept any pay for his services, asking only that his own expenses and the money he had advanced to pay and feed the troops be returned when convenient. All through the war, Washington's one great longing had been to sit once more at his fireside, on the banks of the peaceful Potomac. From Annapolis he hastened to Virginia, arriving at Mount Vernon in time to enjoy the Christmas festivities at his home.

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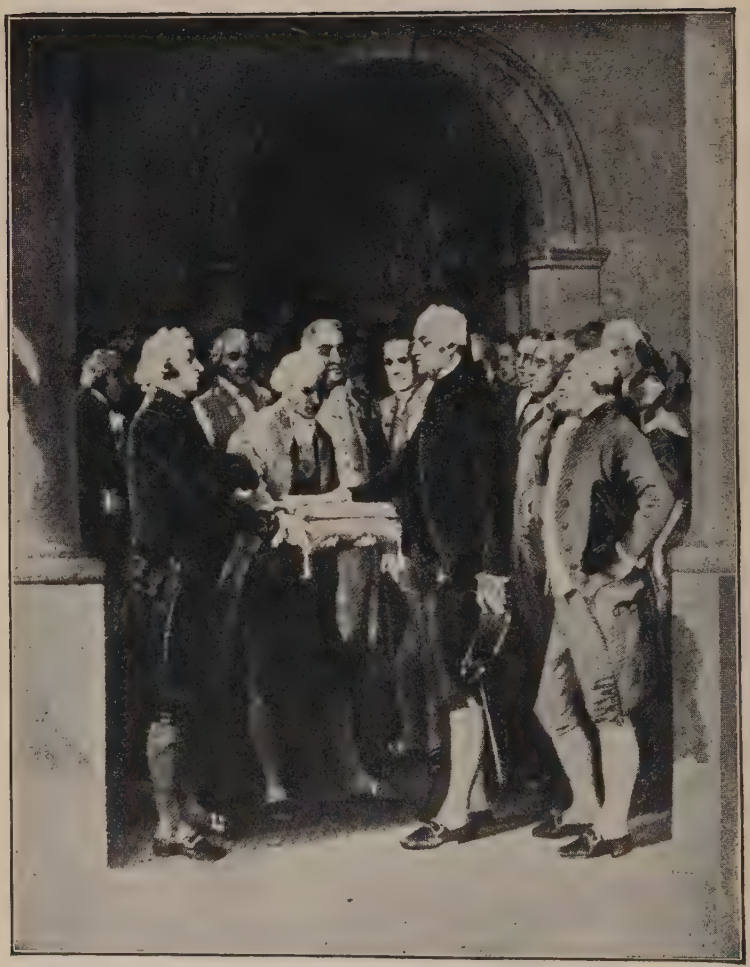


Washington Taking the Oath of Office at Old Federal Hall, New York

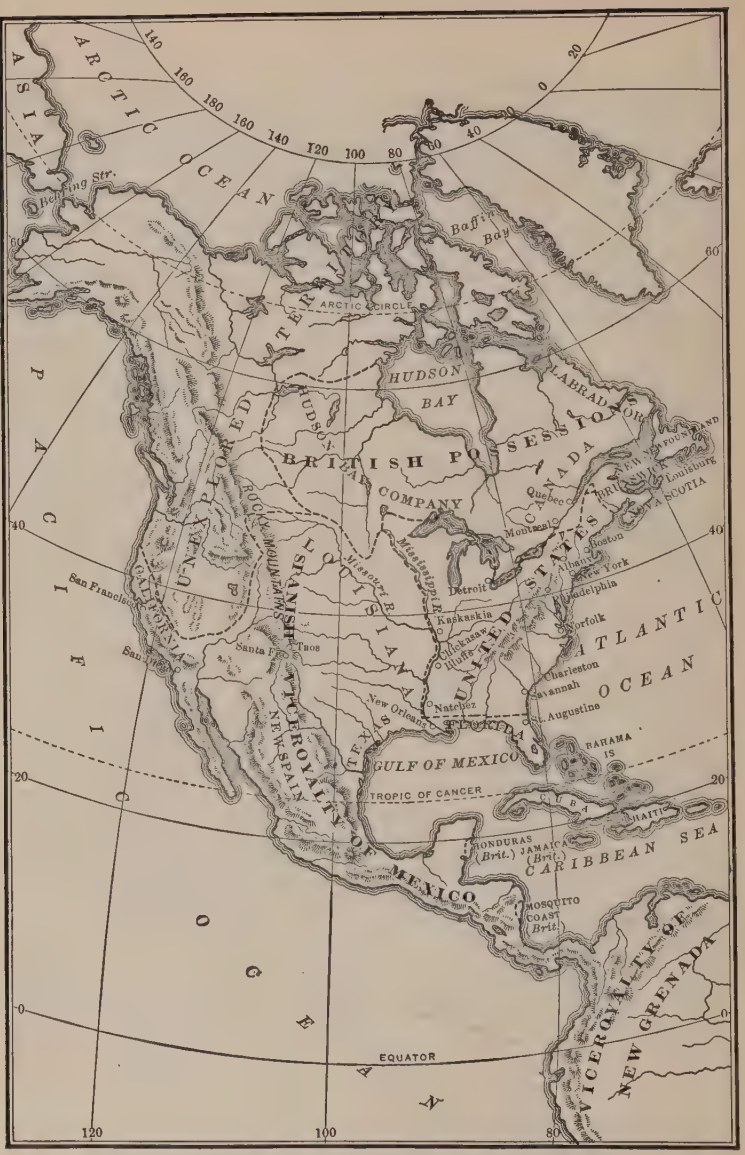
From an engraving in the Emmett Collection, the New York Public Library, after the original painting by Alonzo Chappel

CHAPTER XVI

THE CRITICAL PERIOD UNDER THE CONFEDERATION

Government by the Continental Congress. When the thirteen colonies declared their independence of Great Britain, they did not at once form a national government. Throughout most of the Revolution, the only bond of union between the struggling colonies was the Second Continental Congress. This was a revolutionary body. Necessity called it into existence, and its only claim to authority was the common consent of the people. Each colony sent delegates to this Congress, which exercised many of the powers of a national government. It raised an army and a navy, borrowed money, established a treasury department and post office, adopted the Declaration of Independence, and made a treaty of alliance with France. Victory crowned its work; and with independence won, the thirteen states were face to face with the difficult problem of uniting under some form of national government.

Early State Governments. The governments in each of the original thirteen states are therefore older than our national government, for these state governments came into existence when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Four states adopted their constitutions even before independence was declared by the Continental Congress; and within a few years, all of the others followed their example. The new state governments were modeled on the colonial governments, with some changes to meet the conditions created by the Revolution. The state constitution took the place of the colonial charter, and the powers formerly exercised by the king were vested in the legislature, or reserved to the people themselves. The remarkable thing about these early constitutions is that, for the first



North America at the Close of the Revolution

time in history, the people adopted a written constitution of higher authority than the government itself. The constitution defined the powers of the legislature, the governor, and the courts. No branch of the government could exceed the powers granted, or change the written constitution, this power being reserved to the people.

The early state constitution generally consisted of two parts. First, most of them had a bill of rights, setting forth the civil and political rights of the individual. For example, the bill of rights forbade the searching of private dwellings without a proper warrant; secured the right of trial by jury; asserted the right of free speech and a free press, of freedom to worship according to one's own conscience, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances. These rights had been secured by Englishmen in the mother country after long centuries of struggle. The Englishmen who came to America claimed these same rights as their inheritance, and now made them the corner stone of their new government. The second part of the state constitution was an outline of the general framework of government, providing for executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and usually stating the qualifications necessary to enable a man to vote.

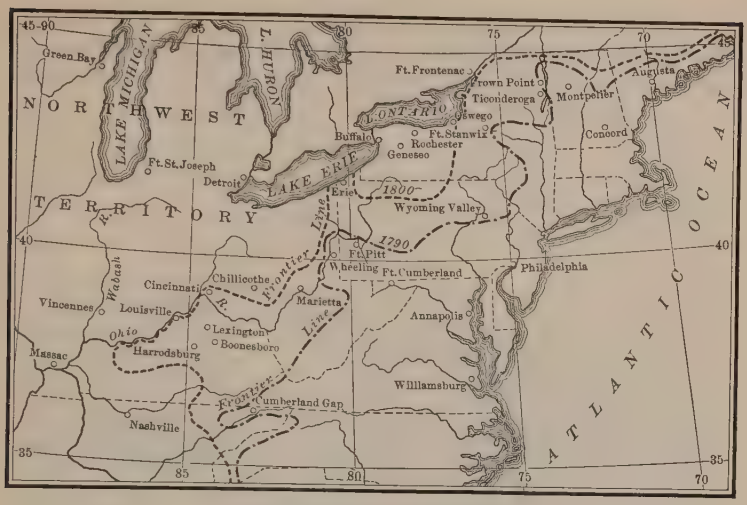
Adopting the Articles of Confederation. An effort was made early in the Revolution to unite the thirteen new states in a confederation or union. On the very day that Congress appointed a committee to write the Declaration of Independence, a second committee was chosen to draw up a plan of confederation. Congress adopted the proposed Articles of Confederation, and sent them to the states for their approval. The states were slow to act. The people were satisfied with their state governments, and they feared that the new confederation might prove fatal to their liberties. After two years of delay, all of the states agreed to the Articles of Confederation except Maryland. She refused to ratify unless the states which claimed lands west of the Alleghenies should cede these lands to the general government, to be held as a national domain. New York took the lead in surrendering her claims, and Virginia promised similar action.

Maryland then ratified the Articles of Confederation, which went into effect March 1, 1781.

Weakness of the Confederation Government. The new government was not a national government such as we have to-day, with power to enforce its laws and to tax the people for its support. The states were too jealous of their own rights to create a strong national government; so they formed a league or confederation, in which the smallest states had as much power as the largest. Instead of three departments of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, the powers of this confederation were exercised by a Congress of one house. In this body each state, large or small, had an equal vote.

Since there was no national executive, Congress had to depend upon the states to enforce its laws. For example, Congress could not levy taxes upon the individual citizen and compel him to pay them, as our national government does to-day. It could only ask the states to contribute their share toward the common expenses; and since many of them failed to pay, the new government soon became bankrupt. Nor could Congress raise soldiers by calling for volunteers and by compelling men to serve, as our national government did in the Civil War and in the World War. It could only request the states for troops, and was helpless if the states did not choose to supply them. Congress could make treaties, but it could not compel the states to observe them. In short, as one writer has said, Congress could declare everything but do nothing.

Creation of a Public Domain. The Congress of the Confederation adopted one very important measure, the Ordinance of 1787. Early in the Revolution, George Rogers Clark and his brave Virginians wrested from British control the vast domain bounded by the Ohio River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. This was the Northwest Territory, surrendered by Great Britain at the close of the war, and occupied by a few hardy pioneers who had pushed westward through the passes of the Alleghenies. The ownership of this territory was a matter of serious dispute when the Revolution ended. Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut set up conflicting claims, founded on the



The Westward Movement

Showing the frontier line in 1790 and in 1800.

grants made in their colonial charters; while New York claimed all the territory formerly occupied by the Iroquois Indians and their subject tribes.

That part of the West lying south of the Ohio River was likewise claimed by four of the colonies — Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. On the other hand, states like Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland had such definite boundaries that they could not claim any part of either the Northwest or the Southwest; and they looked with envy and distrust upon their land-claiming neighbors. Maryland refused to join the Confederation unless these claims were given up. This was finally done, the states ceding their claims to Congress, and so the western lands became the common property of the United States. Each state was an equal partner in the public domain, and this fact helped to hold the states together during the critical years from 1783 to 1787.

Land Surveys in the Northwest. By selling tracts of these western lands to settlers, Congress hoped to pay off part of the Revolutionary debt, and at the same time aid in building

up the West. At first the public lands were sold only in large tracts, not less than six hundred and forty acres; but this policy was soon changed so that a man could purchase one hundred and sixty acres for two dollars an acre, and pay for it in four installments. Congress also adopted a simple and accurate method of survey, by which the entire territory was divided into squares called townships, measuring six miles on a side. Each township was then subdivided into thirty-six smaller

General Rufus Putnam's House at Marietta

Most of the early settlers in Marietta (named for the Queen of France) were former Revolutionary War officers. They built a stockade about the settlement and the Campus Martius, with a strong fort at each corner. In 1825, Lafayette visited the cemetery in Marietta, where several of his fellow-officers were buried.

squares, called sections, each one mile square. Every township and section was numbered, so that any tract of land could be easily located. Congress reserved the sixteenth section in each township, and gave it to the states for the support of their public schools, besides two whole townships in each state for the endowment of a state university.

The Ordinance of 1787. How should the Northwest Territory be governed? Congress answered this question by passing the Ordinance of 1787. This ordinance is one of the most important laws in our history. It outlined clearly the policy ever

since followed by the national government in dealing with its territories. "I doubt," said Daniel Webster, "whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." The ordinance provided that for the first few years, the Northwest Territory should have a temporary government, the laws to be made by the governor and three judges appointed by Congress. As the population increased, this temporary government was to be replaced by a representative government, the people choosing the lower house of the legislature. Not more than five nor fewer than three states were to be formed from this region; and statehood was promised as soon as any district had sixty thousand inhabitants. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota were the states afterwards formed from the Northwest Territory.

Three other provisions of the ordinance were of especial importance: —

(1) It forever prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory.

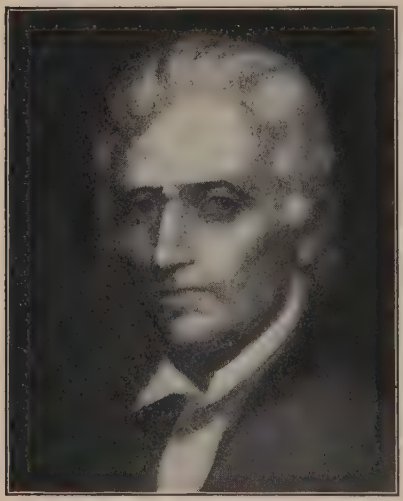
(2) It guaranteed religious freedom to all settlers.

(3) The ordinance declared that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The Beginnings of Ohio. A number of New Englanders, including several Revolutionary officers, had already planned to establish a colony north of the Ohio River. In 1787, this Ohio Company purchased from Congress nearly one million acres of land. In the following spring, General Rufus Putnam with a little band of fifty colonists reached the spot where the Muskingum River flows into the Ohio. Here they founded the town of Marietta; and a few months later another settlement was made farther down the river, at Cincinnati. General Arthur St. Clair, chosen by Congress as the first governor of the Northwest Territory, soon arrived at Marietta; and with his coming, the civil government provided for in the Ordinance of 1787 went into effect. Emigration to the West now became very popular. Eastern farmers hastened to sell their homesteads for what they

would bring, in order to begin life anew in the Northwest. Each spring hundreds of flatboats loaded with cattle and household goods floated down the Ohio.

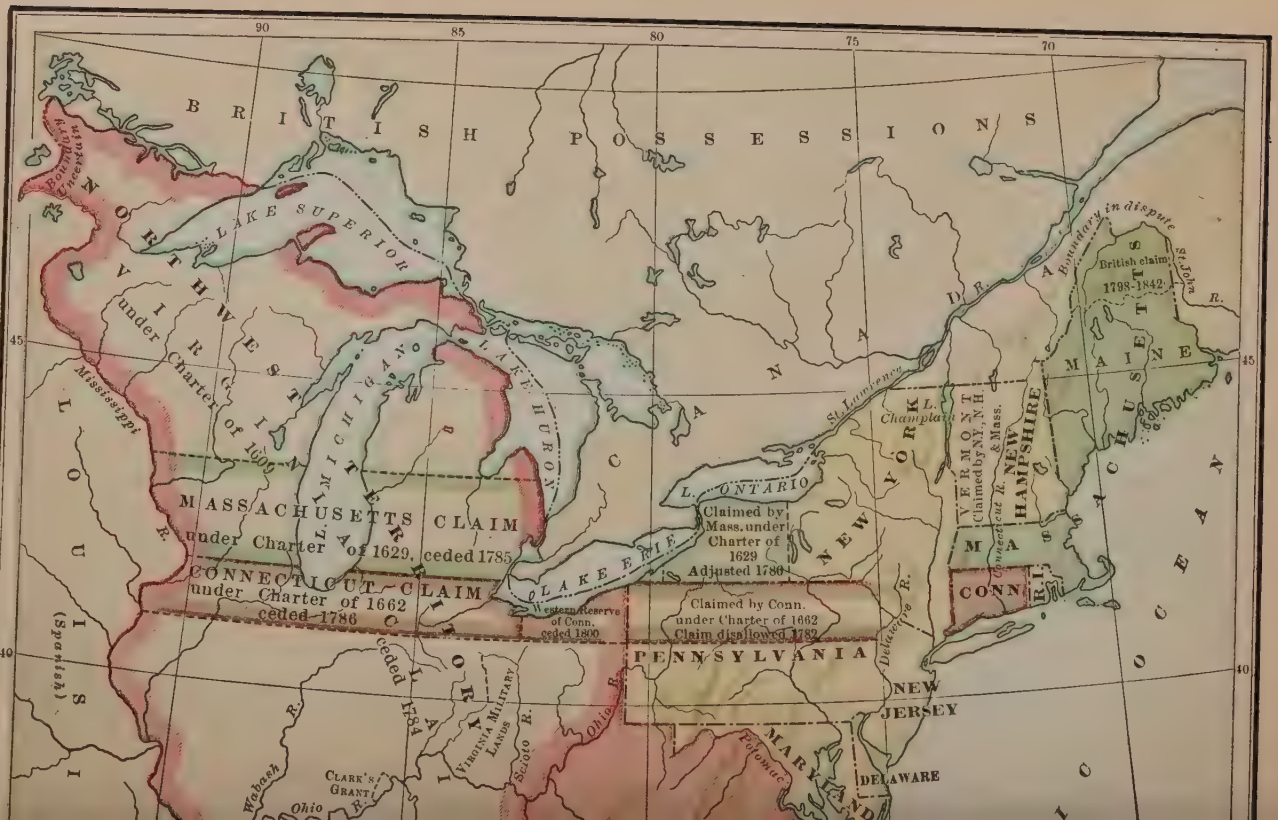
The Southwestern Frontier. South of the Ohio River, in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee, the frontier settlements were growing even more rapidly. Kentucky was opened up to the world by the brave Daniel Boone and his followers, who settled at Boonesborough on the Kentucky River; while James Harrod and a band of Virginians founded the town of Harrodsburg. This district was soon filled with hardy pioneers. Louisville, first established as a trading post, became a thriving village. The settlers were within the bounds of Virginia, but within a few years this territory was to become the new state of Kentucky (1792). Pioneers from North Carolina also crossed the mountains before the Revolution, and settled in what is now Tennessee. These bold frontiersmen, led by John Sevier, the "lion of the border," helped win the fight with the British troops at King's Mountain. North Carolina at first claimed this territory, but it was admitted as the state of Tennessee in 1796.

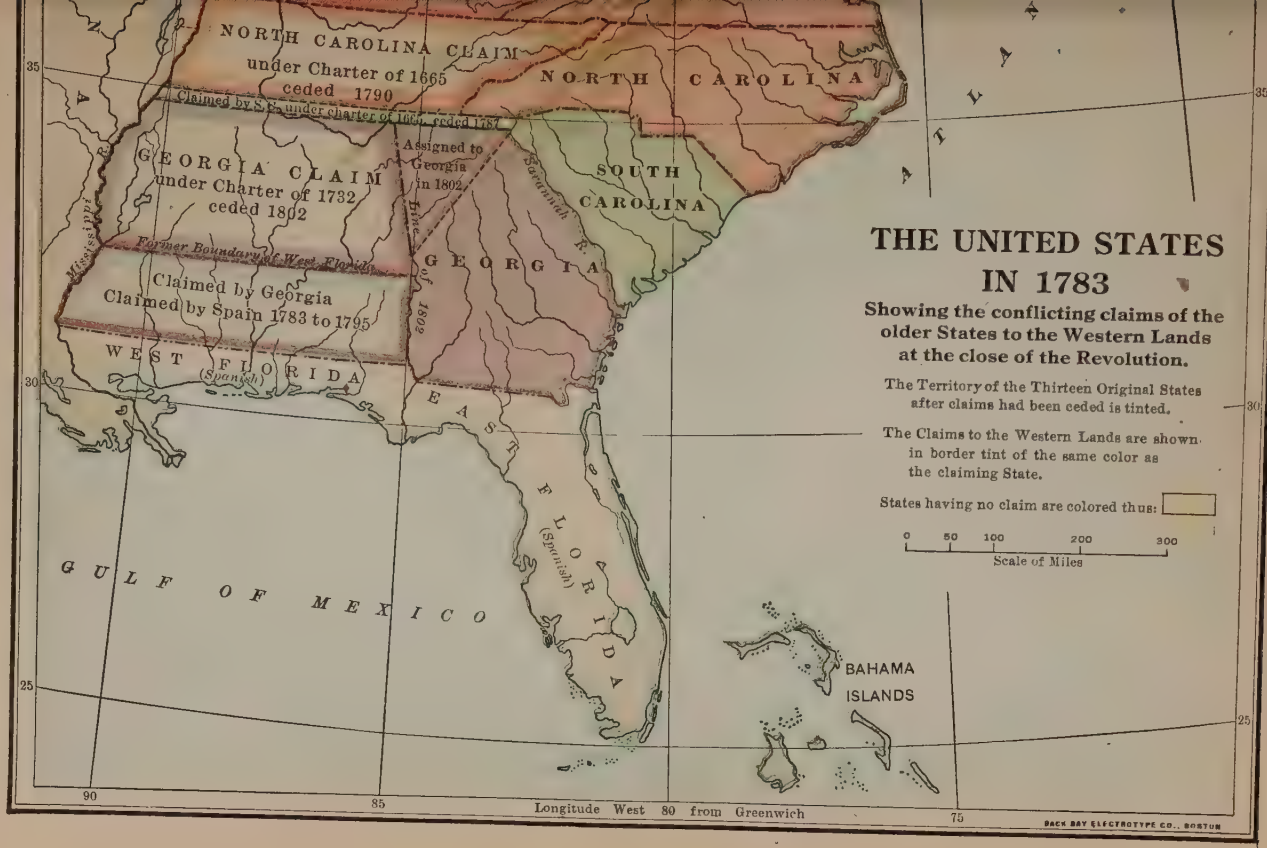


Daniel Boone

From the original portrait by Chester Harding in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Critical Period of American History. The difficulties that beset the Confederation were constantly increasing. Even under the stress of war and the pressure of common dangers, the Confederation government was feeble and inefficient; with the return of peace it seemed on the verge of collapse. One historian asserts that "the period of five years


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
under Charter of 1609
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
L. ONTARIO
Mississippi R.
MASSACHUSETTS CLAIM
under Charter of 1629, ceded 1785
CONNECTICUT CLAIM
under Charter of 1662
ceded 1786
Western Reserve of Conn. ceded 1800
Claimed by Mass. under Charter of 1629 Adjusted 1780
Claimed by Conn. under Charter of 1662 Claim disallowed 1782
Ceded 1784
Boundary in dispute
British claim 1798-1842
St. John R.
St. Lawrence R.
Champlain L.
VERMONT
Claimed by N.Y., N.H. & Mass.
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
MAINE
NEW YORK
CONN.
R.I.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Delaware R.
Potomac R.
Ohio R.
Wabash R.
Scioto R.
Virginia Military Lands
Clark's Grant
Ohio R.
Louisiana (Spanish)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
90
85
80
75
70
45
40



THE UNITED STATES IN 1783

Showing the conflicting claims of the older States to the Western Lands at the close of the Revolution.

The Territory of the Thirteen Original States after claims had been ceded is tinted.

The Claims to the Western Lands are shown in border tint of the same color as the claiming State.

States having no claim are colored thus: ☐

0 50 100 200 300
Scale of Miles

BACK BAY ELECTROTYPE CO., BOSTON

following the peace of 1783 was the most critical moment in all the history of the American people." The chief difficulty of the Confederation was its lack of power to raise money even for the ordinary expenses of government. Revenue could be secured only through contributions from the states; but during the years 1780–1783, requests for $10,000,000 yielded less than $1,500,000. As a result, Congress could not pay the foreign debt as it came due, or even the soldiers of the Continental Army, save in certificates of indebtedness.

The lack of power to control commerce was another fatal weakness of the Confederation. Commerce with foreign nations and among the several states was controlled by the individual states, each of which tried to promote its own trade at the expense of its neighbors. For example, Connecticut taxed imports from Massachusetts, while admitting British goods free of duty. New York levied charges on all vessels coming from or bound to New Jersey or Connecticut. New Jersey tried to retaliate by levying a tax of $150 a month on a few acres of land that New York had bought at Sandy Hook.

Within the states there was disorder, and sometimes rebellion. The country was impoverished as a result of the war, while commerce and industry could not revive without a stable government. Seven states were issuing large quantities of paper money, and trying to compel creditors to accept it in payment of debts. In Massachusetts more than a thousand persons who owed money took up arms to prevent the holding of courts and the collection of debts (Shays's Rebellion, 1786–1787). Congress was powerless to suppress this disorder; indeed Congress itself was at one time driven out of Philadelphia by some eighty drunken soldiers, clamoring for their pay. Everywhere state was arrayed against state, section against section; New England against the South over the question of trade with Great Britain, the East against the West on the subject of commerce with Spain and the navigation of the Mississippi.

What Foreign Countries Thought of Us. Foreign countries treated the new nation with contempt. Great Britain declined to make a commercial treaty with a government powerless to

compel its thirteen states to observe the agreement. Nor would Great Britain consent to withdraw her troops from some twenty posts on our northwest border, as agreed upon by the peace treaty of 1783. Her reason was that we had not done two things that we agreed to do by this same treaty: first, to compensate the Loyalists for the loss of their property; and second, to compel the payment of debts owed to British merchants before the war. Congress was anxious for a commercial treaty with Spain, but that country would make no treaty unless we paid duties to the Spanish colony of Louisiana, through which the Mississippi flowed for the last hundred miles of its course. Even the pirate state of Tripoli could defy us with impunity, and hold American sailors in captivity for a ransom that Congress could not pay.

The Confederation Proves a Rope of Sand. Several attempts were made to amend the Articles of Confederation, so as to confer upon Congress the power to levy duties upon imported goods and to regulate commerce. Each time the amendment was defeated by the selfish opposition of a single state; for the consent of all the states was necessary in order to amend the Articles. It was apparent by 1785 that the Confederation was on the verge of collapse. Congress had declined both in numbers and character. The ablest men would no longer consent to serve as delegates, and it was almost impossible to secure a quorum for the transaction of business. "There is in America no general government," reported the agent of France; and the statement was almost literally true. The Confederation government could command neither respect abroad nor obedience at home. By 1786 its breakdown was complete. Plainly, the Union must be strengthened, or give way to a condition of anarchy and civil war.

Conferences to Discuss Trade and Navigation. The disputes over commerce proved a blessing in disguise; for from them sprang a series of meetings which finally led to the Constitutional Convention. The first of these meetings to discuss commercial relations was held at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1785, Maryland and Virginia being represented. The delegates saw that the consent of other states would be necessary to any regulations

which they might adopt. So Virginia proposed a meeting of delegates from all the states, to be held at Annapolis the following year. Only five states sent delegates; it was plain that nothing could be accomplished unless more states took part. The convention adopted a report recommending that delegates from all the states should meet at Philadelphia to consider the situation of the country and plan the measures necessary to make the Constitution adequate to the needs of the Union.

The Proposed Constitutional Convention. Many of the states, and Congress as well, hesitated to endorse this proposal. Some of Washington's friends urged him not to become a delegate, for they feared that the proposed convention would prove a failure. But Washington, as well as Hamilton, Madison, and other leaders, realized that the country was on the verge of anarchy. "Illiberality, jealousy, and local policy," said Washington, "mix too much in all our public councils for the good government of the Union. In a word, the Confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance." It was plain that a stronger government must be formed if the liberties won by the Revolution were to endure. After several states had appointed delegates, Congress adopted a resolution calling a convention on the second Monday of May, 1787, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

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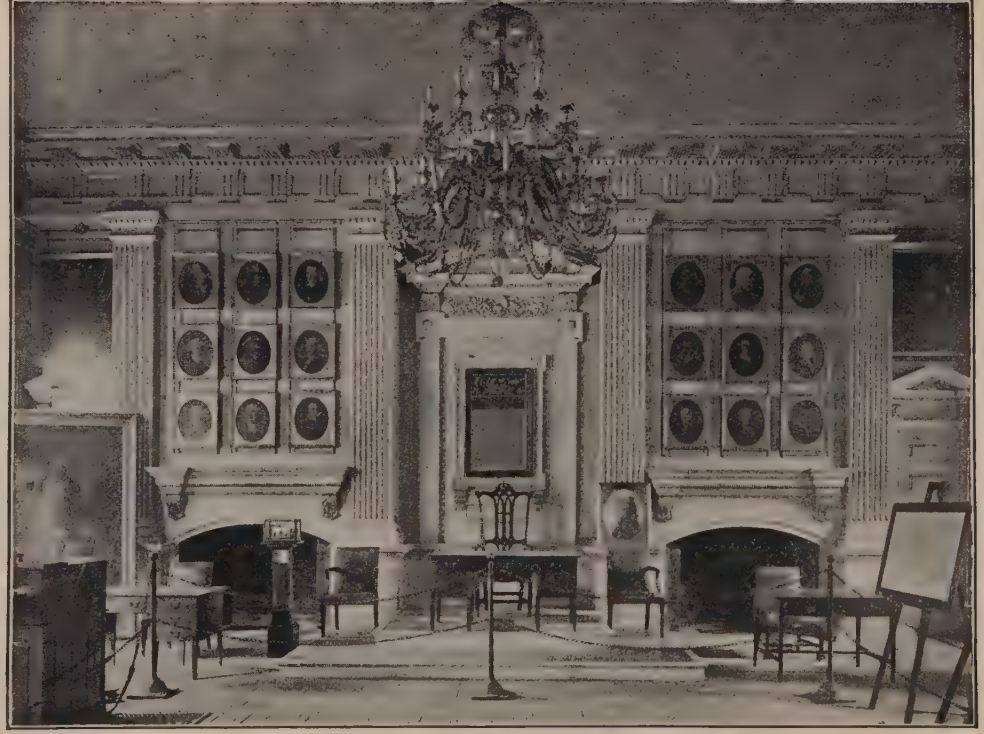
CHAPTER XVII

MAKING THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The Constitutional Convention. Independence Hall at Philadelphia was the meeting-place of the great Constitutional Convention which assembled on May 25, 1787. Its mission was to devise a better plan of government, to build a more perfect Union. How well the Convention accomplished its work is shown by the fact that we are living to-day under the Constitution then framed. The Constitution is so elastic that it could be adapted to the many changes in our national life since the eighteenth century; and it has proven strong enough to carry the Union safely through foreign invasion and Civil War.

All the states except Rhode Island sent delegates to this notable assembly; and its fifty-five members included many of the ablest leaders and statesmen of the day. The oldest delegate was Pennsylvania's philosopher and sage, Benjamin Franklin; one of the youngest was Alexander Hamilton of New York, whose brilliant career was destined to be cut off at its noon. Virginia sent two future Presidents: George Washington, the foremost man in America, and James Madison, called the "Father of the Constitution" because he drew up the plan adopted as the basis of the Convention's work. Other distinguished members were Robert Morris and James Wilson of Pennsylvania; John Rutledge and the Pinckneys of South Carolina; Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut; John Dickinson of Delaware; Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King of Massachusetts. Two well-known Americans could not be chosen as delegates because they were representing our country abroad: John Adams as minister to Great Britain, and Thomas Jefferson as minister to France.



The Interior of Independence Hall, Philadelphia

The table and "rising sun" chair in the center were used by the President of the Continental Congress, 1776; chairs at the right and left by delegates, and the inkstand in the small glass case at the left in signing the Declaration of Independence.

Shall a Strong National Government be Formed? The Convention organized on May 25 by electing George Washington as presiding officer. It was decided to sit behind closed doors, so as to keep secret the debates and proceedings. It was thought that a final agreement would be more probable if the discussions were kept from the public. Each state was to have one vote, as in the Confederation Congress. The first contest arose over the question whether a strong national government should be created. This was the purpose of the Virginia plan drafted by James Madison, which provided for a national government of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. It proposed to abandon the Articles of Confederation, and establish a vigorous and efficient national government. The delegates from the smaller states opposed the national idea. They offered the New Jersey plan, which was intended only to revise the Articles of Confederation. Congress was to be given more power over commerce and revenue, but the states were to be supreme in most matters, as before. Above all, the New Jersey plan aimed to preserve the equality of the states by giving to each a single vote in Congress.

A few members wished to adopt half-way measures, thinking this policy would please the people. But Washington believed in thorough work, here as elsewhere. He stated his position in a few noble words: "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God." After some debate, the attempt to revise the Articles of Confederation was given up. The Convention decided to create a national government, consisting of legislative, executive, and judicial departments; and this government was to have all the powers necessary to carry on its work.

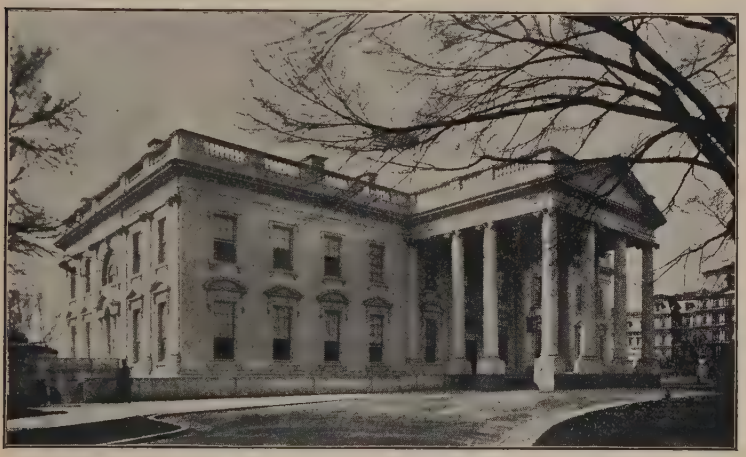
The Compromise over Representation. It was readily agreed that the national legislature or Congress should consist of two houses, like the British Parliament; but there was a long debate over the method by which the states should be represented in this body. The large states insisted that representation

in each branch of Congress should be proportioned to population. They argued that it would be unfair for the forty thousand citizens of Delaware to have the same voice in Congress as the half million people of Virginia. The small states demanded equal representation in both houses, regardless of the size of the state. Neither side would yield, and for a time it seemed likely that this dispute would wreck the Convention. Finally, the compromise plan suggested by Roger Sherman of Connecticut was adopted. In the lower house of Congress each state was to be represented in proportion to its population, while in the upper house or Senate the states were to be equally represented, each having two Senators. Assured of an equal vote in the Senate, the small states were no longer opposed to a strong national government; and from this point on, the proceedings were more harmonious.

Commerce and the Slave Trade. Another compromise was necessary to reconcile the views of delegates from the slaveholding states with those from commercial New England. The commercial states wished to give the national government power to regulate commerce; but some of the slaveholding states feared that this power, if granted, might be used to prohibit the slave trade. The South also feared that Congress might tax exports, thus laying a heavy burden upon its agricultural staples. It was finally agreed that Congress should have power to regulate commerce, but not to tax exports. The slave trade was not to be prohibited before the year 1808, but a tax of ten dollars might be levied on each slave brought into the country.

Many other compromises and adjustments were necessary in order to reconcile conflicting views among the delegates; so that the Constitution is really a "bundle of compromises." Originally it had been agreed that the President should be chosen by Congress for a term of seven years, and should not be eligible for a second term. Fearing that this plan would make the executive a mere agent of Congress, the Convention finally decided that the President should be chosen by an electoral college; and that his term should be four years, with no re-

striction upon the number of terms he might serve. The Constitution as finally drawn up was based largely on provisions borrowed from the state constitutions, which in turn were the result of the political experience of the colonists. Most of its provisions had been tested in actual practice, so that the new Constitution was much more likely to succeed than if it had merely represented untried theories of government.



The White House, Washington

The cornerstone was laid October 13, 1792; completed in 1802 under the direction of James Hoban, who supervised the building of the Capitol; designed after the palace of the Duke of Leinster in Dublin. Cabinet meetings were held in the east side of "The President's House" until executive offices were built during President Roosevelt's administration.

How Laws Are Made. The Constitution vests all legislative powers in Congress, which consists of two houses. At present the Senate consists of ninety-six members, two being elected by the voters of each state; while the House of Representatives has four hundred and thirty-five members, each state being represented according to population. Any member of either house of Congress may introduce a bill, or draft of a proposed law. After having been considered in committee, the bill may be debated and perhaps changed. If it receives the votes of a majority of the members in each house, it is sent to the

President. His signature makes the bill a law. If the President disapproves the measure, he sends it back to Congress, with the reasons for his veto. The bill cannot then become a law unless passed over the veto by a two-thirds vote in each house. If the President fails to sign or veto a bill within ten days, it becomes a law. After a law is passed, it is enforced by the President, unless the Supreme Court declares it to be unconstitutional, that is, not really a law at all.

The Office of President. The framers of the Constitution wished to create a strong executive, with power to enforce the laws and to carry on the affairs of government. They decided on a President, to be elected for four years by electors chosen in each state for that purpose. The President has large powers. It is his duty to enforce the laws; and as commander in chief, he may use the whole power of the army and navy for that purpose, if necessary. The President is responsible for carrying on the business of government. To aid him in this work, he appoints a number of executive officers, who form his Cabinet. The first Cabinet appointed by President Washington included only four members; but other departments have since been established to meet the growing needs of the country, until to-day the President's Cabinet includes ten members.

With the consent of the Senate, the President also appoints ambassadors, consuls, postmasters in the large cities, federal judges, and many other executive officials. The President makes treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate; he sends messages to Congress recommending desirable legislation; he has power to veto any law passed by Congress, and may pardon offenses against the United States.

The National Courts. A judicial department or system of national courts was the most original feature of the new Constitution. This consists of a Supreme Court of the United States, together with such lower courts as Congress sees fit to establish. The judges are appointed by the President, and serve during good behavior. The national courts try cases between states, between citizens of different states, between foreigners and citizens, and all offenses against the laws of the United States.

They also decide whether laws passed by Congress or by the states are in harmony with the national Constitution, provided a case is brought before the court in which some one claims that the law is unconstitutional.

Amending the Constitution. The members of the Constitutional Convention realized that, as our country grew, the people

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The Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Edward D. White of Louisiana (appointed 1910) Presiding

This room was the Senate Chamber before 1859, the scene of the great speeches by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster.

would probably wish to make changes in their Constitution, in order to adapt it to new conditions. So they provided methods of making changes, or amendments. Eighteen of these amendments have been made since the Constitution was adopted. Each amendment was first proposed by Congress, a two-thirds vote of each house being necessary, and afterwards ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the states.

Federal Plan of Government. The government created by our national Constitution is a federal government, that is, a

Union made up of states. There are now forty-eight states, each having its own state government charged with important duties; while all of the states are united to form a national government, which exercises powers relating to the welfare of the nation as a whole. The states are as essential to the Union as the fingers to the hand; and the Union is just as essential to the states.

The Constitution vests in the national government powers that are national in character, leaving the states in control of all other matters. Thus the national government has charge of foreign relations, including the right to make treaties, to send and receive ambassadors, to declare war, and to make peace. Control of commerce with foreign nations and among the several states is another important power belonging to the national government. Congress also has power to coin money, to establish a postal system, to make laws on the subject of naturalization, to control territories and public lands, to maintain an army and navy, to grant copyrights and patents, to borrow money, and to levy taxes. The Constitution vests these powers in Congress because they affect the welfare of the entire country.

To the states, on the other hand, are left matters of more local concern, including education, local government, regulation of contracts, of marriage and divorce, commerce wholly within a state, most laws against crime, and taxation for the support of state and local governments.

How the New Government Differed from the Old. How did the new Constitution differ from the Articles of Confederation as a plan of government? In several important respects:

(1) Under the new Constitution, the national government no longer had to depend upon the states to carry out its measures. It enforced its own laws, through its own officers. The new national government could levy taxes directly upon the individual citizen; it could coin money, raise armies, hold its own courts, pay its own officers. The Confederation government could do none of these things.

(2) Commerce with foreign countries, as well as trade between the different states, was placed under the control of the national government. No longer could each state levy duties on imports

and exports. Duties on exports were forbidden, and only Congress could levy duties on imports.

(3) Under the Confederation, there was no national executive, no system of national courts. Under the new Constitution, there were three departments of government; a Congress of two houses to make the laws; an executive to enforce them; and a system of national courts to interpret and apply the laws.

(4) The Constitution created a Supreme Court of the United States, and gave it authority to decide any question concerning the powers of the national government. If a law passed by Congress or by any state is in conflict with the Constitution, this court may set it aside; that is, declare the measure void and of no effect.

Completion of the Convention's Work. At last, after four months of deliberation, the Convention completed its task; and on September 17, 1787, the new Constitution was signed by thirty-nine delegates. As the members were affixing their signatures, Franklin pointed toward the presiding officer's chair on the back of which was painted a half-sun. He remarked to those near him that painters found it difficult to distinguish in their art between a rising and a setting sun. "I have," he declared, "often and often, in the course of this session . . . looked at that behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

The Contest over Ratification. The new Constitution was not to become effective unless ratified by at least nine of the thirteen states. As soon as it was published, the contest over ratification began. The opponents of the Constitution declared that it gave too much power to the national government at the expense of the states, and that its adoption would sound the death knell of popular liberty. Some of the foremost patriots of the Revolution opposed the new plan of government. In Virginia the opposition was led by Patrick Henry, supported by Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and James Monroe. In New York, the Constitution was bitterly opposed by George Clinton, then governor of the state.

The Federalists, as the supporters of the Constitution styled themselves, pointed to existing conditions as an unanswerable argument in favor of a strong government. The Federalists included most of the lawyers, doctors, and ministers, as well as the large property-owners and merchants, who welcomed the prospect of a strong national government. In Virginia the prominent supporters of the Constitution were James Madison and Edmund Randolph, aided by John Marshall, later the greatest chief justice in our history; and the potent influence of Washington was also exerted in its behalf. In New York the foremost Federalist was Alexander Hamilton, ably seconded by John Jay.

The Delaware convention was the first to accept the new Constitution, and its ratification was prompt and unanimous. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut soon followed. Massachusetts, after a sharp struggle, ratified by a close vote. Maryland and South Carolina came next, increasing the number of ratifications to eight; so that if one more state could be obtained, the Constitution would take effect among the nine that had ratified. While a sharp contest was being waged in the New York and Virginia conventions, New Hampshire gave a favorable vote, and the fate of the Constitution was no longer in doubt. Virginia next ratified by a plurality of ten. In New York, ratification was finally wrested from a hostile convention by the splendid leadership of Hamilton. North Carolina and Rhode Island gave a tardy and reluctant assent in 1789 and 1790, respectively, after the new government had been for some time in operation.

Inauguration of the New Government. After nine states had ratified, the Congress of the Confederation adopted a resolution fixing the first Wednesday in March as the date of the inauguration of the new government. The city of New York was named as the temporary seat of government. After some delay, owing to the fact that a quorum was not present in either branch, Congress assembled on April 6, 1789, for the purpose of counting the electoral votes. It was found that Washington was the unanimous choice for President, and John Adams with

Mount Vernon, the Finest Specimen of Colonial Architecture in America

Built in 1744. The estate of 2500 acres included every branch of industry necessary to make it self-supporting.

one half as many votes became Vice President. On April 16, 1789, Washington left his beautiful country home at Mount Vernon to take up the heavy duties of his new office. His journey to New York City was one continuous march of triumph amid throngs of people eager to render homage to the man who had done so much for them. Trenton offered the tribute that touched him most deeply. At the bridge that spanned the Assunpink River — across which Washington had led his army to the battle of Princeton — he found a triumphal arch, supported by thirteen pillars. It bore the inscription: "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." As he passed beneath the arch, young girls dressed in white sang an ode and strewed flowers before him.

Washington reached New York on April 23, and was welcomed by crowds of enthusiastic citizens. His reception showed how true was the report sent by the French minister to his government: "No sovereign ever reigned more completely in the hearts of his subjects than Washington in the hearts of his people." April 30, 1789, was the date set for the inauguration. When the President-elect appeared on the balcony of Federal Hall, he saw before him a vast multitude of people, who had assembled to witness the ceremony. Chancellor Livingston read the oath of office, which was repeated by Washington: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Livingston then waved his hand to the people and shouted, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States." Loud huzzas rent the air, while the artillery at the Battery thundered the first presidential salute. The new government was fairly launched on its course.

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CHAPTER XVIII

SETTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN MOTION

The Task of Organization. "I walk on untrodden ground," wrote Washington, soon after his inauguration. There were indeed no precedents for the President or Congress to follow. Each new step must be taken carefully, for the destiny of the young Republic hung on the outcome. The President and Congress had before them the task of creating executive departments, organizing a judicial system, restoring the public credit, managing domestic affairs, and regulating our dealings with foreign nations. Thus great difficulties had to be met by our first President, then in his fifty-seventh year. His task was harder than any he had ever undertaken, but he worked at it with unceasing diligence, and made a splendid success of his administration. Only the hero and sage of the Revolution could have successfully laid the broad foundation on which the American nation has been built. Washington was able to do this because he alone had the full confidence and trust of the people. Indeed, had not the people felt certain that he would be our first President, the Constitution itself would probably not have been adopted.

The President's Social Relations. Washington wisely decided that the President should be under no obligation to make or return social calls. He held a public reception every Tuesday afternoon, at which every one was required to wear full dress. His own dress on these occasions is thus described by a contemporary: "He wore his hair powdered and gathered behind in a silk bag. His coat and breeches were of plain black velvet; he wore a white or pearl-colored vest and yellow gloves, and had a cocked hat in his hand; he had silver knee and shoe buckles, and a long sword with a finely wrought and glittering steel hilt.

The coat was worn over this sword, which had a scabbard of finely polished leather."

Washington received his guests with a formal bow, but did not shake hands at his receptions, even with his intimate friends. He gave one public dinner each week, to which were invited the high government officials, members of Congress, and distinguished citizens. The fare was simple, and after dessert the President rose and led the way to the drawing-room. Mrs. Washington held receptions on Friday evenings, and at these the President "appeared as a private citizen, with neither hat nor sword; conversing without restraint and generally with ladies." The company was expected to retire early. "The general retires at nine, and I usually precede him," Mrs. Washington would say.

Martha Washington

From the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart, in The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The Executive Departments. To assist the President in carrying on his work, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of War. At the head of each was a Secretary, appointed by the President. For Secretary of State, Washington chose Thomas Jefferson; for Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton; and for Secretary of War, General Henry Knox. Edmund Randolph was appointed Attorney-General, as the chief law officer of the new government was called.

The National Courts. The judicial machinery of the government was set in motion when Congress passed an act establishing

a system of national courts. The highest of these was the Supreme Court of the United States, consisting of a Chief Justice and five Associate Justices. President Washington appointed John Jay of New York as our first Chief Justice. The three great departments of government were now organized, and ready for business. There was a Congress, consisting of the Senate and House of Representatives, to make the laws; a President, aided by four chief executive officers, to enforce these laws and carry on the work of government; and there were national courts to hear and decide cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Financial Problem. The most difficult problem before the new government was the question of finance. The heavy expense of the Revolution had put the country deeply in debt. The old Confederation government could not raise the money needed for its ordinary expenses; much less could it pay the interest on the public debt. Always a pauper, the Confederation in its later days became a bankrupt. The new government inherited its debts, and found that the national credit at home and abroad was almost destroyed.

The first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, was appointed to this post at the age of thirty-two years. Washington loved and trusted him, and Hamilton's genius for finance soon proved the wisdom of his choice. Hamilton refused to listen to those who suggested paying a part of our immense debt, and letting part of it go unpaid. He told Congress that the new Republic must arrange to pay every dollar of its indebtedness. At this time we owed to foreign creditors, chiefly in France and Holland, nearly $12,000,000, and to creditors in the United States $42,000,000. Interest to the amount of many millions remained unpaid. It was of course impossible to pay all of this debt at once. So Hamilton planned to issue new bonds for the entire amount, and exchange these for the old certificates of indebtedness. Each year the interest on these bonds, and a part of the principal, was to be paid out of revenue raised by taxation.

How the State Debts Were to be Paid. Hamilton also proposed that the national government should assume the debts of the

thirteen state governments, amounting to about $21,000,000. He argued that the state debts were the result of fighting for the common cause, and should therefore be paid by all. Moreover, to assume the state debts would strengthen the Union; it would enlist the support of a large class of creditors who would wish the national government to succeed in order that their claims might be paid. Some states, especially those at the South, had small debts and were therefore opposed to this policy. The plan seemed doomed to defeat; it was finally carried by means of a political bargain or "deal." A permanent location for the national capital had not yet been chosen. Northern members of Congress wanted to have the capital at Philadelphia; southern members wanted it on the Potomac River. Finally, Hamilton made a private agreement with Jefferson. Hamilton promised to persuade several northern Congressmen to vote to locate the capital on the Potomac; Jefferson in turn was to secure the votes of Virginia's Representatives for the plan of assuming the state debts. Both measures were then carried through Congress.

For ten years (1790–1800), the seat of government was to be at Philadelphia, after which it was to be permanently located at some point on the Potomac. In 1790, Maryland and Virginia ceded to the national government a tract of land ten miles square, lying on both banks of the Potomac. The Maryland portion of the "District of Columbia" became the seat of the national government; the part on the southern bank of the river was afterwards given back to Virginia.

The First Bank of the United States. Hamilton's third financial proposal was that Congress should charter a national bank, in which the government was to own one fifth of the stock. This bank would aid the government in making loans and in the collection of taxes. Then, too, the bank was to issue notes or bills, which every one would accept at face value on account of its high standing. In return for its services to the government, the public funds were to be deposited with the bank, which might loan them out at interest just as it loaned the deposits of individuals. The bank measure was vigorously opposed by

The Capitol, Washington

Work commenced after a design by Thornton, 1792. The north wing, at the right, completed for first meeting November 17, 1800, was called "a palace in the woods," public opinion having been against building on the shores of the Potomac. Nothing but walls left after the fire by the British, 1814. Capitals of the columns were carved in Italy or prepared by workmen brought from Italy. A fire in 1851 made it possible to reconstruct dome in perfect harmony with proportions of the rest of the building. The House occupied its present quarters December 16, 1857, and the Senate January 4, 1859. Building completed in 1865, just in time for the body of Lincoln to lie in state April 19.

Jefferson and his followers on the ground that the Constitution gave Congress no authority to charter a bank. To this Hamilton replied that the right to charter a bank is an implied power of the Constitution; that is, a necessary means of carrying out powers which are clearly granted. Again he carried his point, and Congress chartered the first Bank of the United States for a period of twenty years. To complete the financial machinery of the country, a mint was established at Philadelphia. Both gold and silver were to be coined, and for sums less than a dollar the decimal system was to be used.

These financial measures proved a brilliant success. At home and abroad our national credit was restored, for people no longer doubted whether the United States would pay its debts. Our bonds sold at par, the new bank prospered, and confidence in the future was high. This result was due to Hamilton's well-laid plans.

The First Tariff Act, 1789. In order to secure the revenue so much needed by the government, Congress passed as one of its first measures a general tariff act. This placed duties on many imported articles, including tea, coffee, sugar, salt, wines, iron manufactures, and glass. It was a measure like the Townshend Acts of colonial days, which had aroused fierce opposition; now, however, the people were being taxed by their own representatives. The tax was paid the more readily because it was an indirect one; that is, the tariff duties were first paid by the importer, who in turn passed the burden on to the consumer. All persons who used the imported goods paid their share of the tax in the increased prices which they paid for such goods. In his famous "Report on Manufactures," Hamilton had argued for a tariff both as a means of revenue, and in order to protect our infant manufactures against the competition of Europe's older and better equipped factories. Only in this way, he declared, could the country become self-sustaining, and capable in time of war of maintaining itself without aid from abroad. Congress approved his plan, and began the policy of protecting American industries.

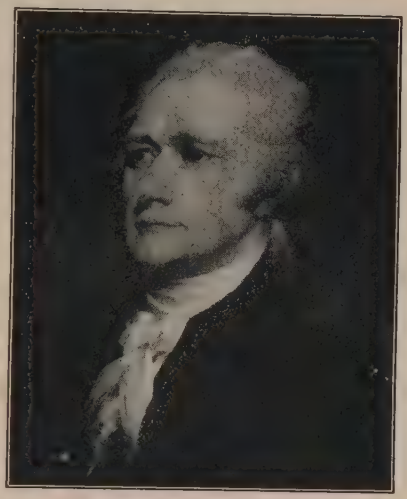
The Military Strength of the New Government. The military powers of the new government were soon put to the test by two

important events. The first of these was the Whisky Rebellion. Since the import duties did not bring enough money into the treasury, Congress passed a law taxing the manufacture of whisky in the United States. This was an excise tax, levied directly on the men who distilled spirits. It was bitterly opposed by the farmers of western Pennsylvania, where there was a still on nearly every farm. These frontiersmen were shut off by the mountains from easy communication with the Atlantic seaboard, while their water route to New Orleans was blocked by the action of the Spaniards in closing the lower Mississippi. So the Pennsylvania farmers were distilling their corn into whisky in order to reduce its bulk and help solve the question of transportation. Instead of paying the new excise tax, they tarred and feathered the tax collectors. The revolt spread until two thousand men were under arms to prevent the collection of the tax. The state authorities were helpless; plainly this was the time to test the power of the national government to enforce its laws. Washington promptly called out the militia from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Fifteen thousand men responded to the call; when they marched to Pittsburgh the rebellion collapsed, and its leaders were placed under arrest. Even the distant frontier realized that there was now a national government strong enough to enforce its laws.

Defeat of the Indians in Ohio, 1794. An Indian uprising in the Northwest Territory afforded the second test of the government's military strength. After the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, many settlers moved into the country northwest of the Ohio River. The Indians resented this invasion of their hunting grounds, and began to raid the settlements. General St. Clair with about fifteen hundred men was sent against them; but in spite of Washington's warning, "Beware of a surprise," St. Clair's force fell into an ambush from which only fifty men escaped uninjured. Washington then sent out a second expedition under the command of General Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point. In the battle of Fallen Timbers, near Maumee, Ohio, Wayne routed the Indians and laid waste their lands for miles around. "Wayne," said the Indians, "we cannot surprise,

for he is a chief who never sleeps." Crushed by their defeat, the Indians signed a treaty ceding nearly all of the land now included in the state of Ohio. They did not again venture on the war-path until 1811.

The Beginning of Political Parties. Before the end of Washington's first term, men began to group themselves into two political parties. Hamilton's financial measures pleased the property-owning class, the men who favored a strong central government. In the bank contest, he argued that Congress could charter a bank as a result of its power to collect taxes, or under the power to regulate commerce. In other words, Hamilton believed that the Constitution should have a liberal construction, so as to give large powers to the national government. His program received strong support from New England, and in general from the commercial and trading classes. Since they believed in a strong federal government, these men called themselves "Federalists."



Alexander Hamilton

From the original portrait by Trumbull in The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Both Jefferson and Madison were opposed to what they called Hamilton's "policy of consolidation." They favored a strict construction of the Constitution, permitting the federal government to exercise only those powers expressly granted by the Constitution, or necessarily implied from its terms. "Necessary powers," Jefferson said, "did not mean convenient powers." To give the word such a meaning would create "a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States; and as they would be the sole judges of the good or evil, it would also be a power to do whatever evil they please."

The Growth of Party Spirit. Jefferson regarded Hamilton with suspicion because of the latter's preference for a system under which the more intelligent and prosperous citizens should have the chief influence in affairs of government. Brilliant in intellect and a genius in finance, Hamilton was inclined to doubt the ability of the common people to take part wisely in public affairs. He wished to keep the control of government in the hands of those who, as he thought, were best fitted by training and ability to carry it on. Jefferson, on the other hand, had more faith in the common people, in their integrity and wisdom. He held many views that were far in advance of his time; for he believed that all men should have the right to vote, to belong to political parties, and to hold office.

Soon the two Cabinet chiefs were hopelessly at odds, "pitted against each other every day," as Jefferson records, "like two fighting cocks." Each begged Washington to choose between them and permit the other to resign. Jefferson became the leader of the growing opposition to Hamilton's policies, finding his chief support from the agricultural class, especially at the South. Those who shared his views took the name Republicans, because they sympathized with the Republican party in France. Both Hamilton and Jefferson contributed something of value to our ideas about government. The country finally accepted Hamilton's theory that the Constitution should be so read as to give broad powers to the national government. On the other hand, we have adopted Jefferson's view that the government is to be carried on by all the people, rather than by the few who voted in Washington's day.

Washington frowned upon party spirit, and tried to maintain an impartial attitude between the warring factions. However, in 1793 the bitter attacks of the Republican newspapers upon his foreign policy inclined him more and more to the Federalists. Before the close of Washington's second term, it was evident that our government would thereafter be carried on by political parties, each of which would nominate its candidate, and strive to win the elections.

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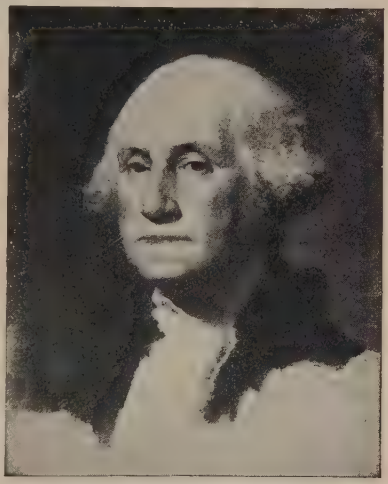
CHAPTER XIX

OUR DIFFICULT FOREIGN RELATIONS

The French Revolution. In the first year of Washington's administration, a great Revolution broke out in France. Unlike the American Revolution, the struggle in France was one between classes. The common people rose against wrongs endured for centuries. The nobles and clergy of France owned most of the land, but paid almost no taxes. The peasant farmers paid nine tenths of all the taxes, besides a heavy rent for their lands. Her part in our Revolutionary War cost France $300,000,000, and the close of that war found the French government almost bankrupt. This was not because the country lacked resources, but was due to the fact that the wealthy classes refused to bear their share of the public expenses. For the first time in nearly two hundred years, a meeting of the States-General or national legislature was called on May 5, 1789. This meeting marks the beginning of the French Revolution. The representatives of the people demanded that the nobles give up their special privileges and help form a free constitution. France was soon divided into two parties: the Revolutionists, composed chiefly of the common people; and the Royalists, or party of the king, nobles, and clergy.

Europe Wars upon the French Republic. News of this Revolution was at first hailed with delight in America. But soon violent men gained control of the movement. They beheaded King Louis XVI, set up a republic, and sent to the guillotine thousands of persons suspected of being unfriendly to the Revolution. All France was under the spell of a "Reign of Terror." From the horrors of such a revolution, sober-minded men in all countries turned away in disgust. The execution of the French king in 1793 was the signal for the monarchs of Europe to declare war upon the new republic. Great Britain,

Spain, Austria, and Prussia allied themselves against France. That nation was ready to fight all Europe in order to make good the principles of her Revolution. Then began the conquest of Europe by revolutionary France. Soon Napoleon appeared to lead her victorious armies, and for the next twenty years Europe was drenched with blood. The carnage ended only when Napoleon's restless ambition received its final check at Waterloo (1815).



George Washington

From the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart in The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality, April 22, 1793. The war between France and Great Britain put us in a difficult position. We were bound to France by gratitude, by a treaty of alliance, and by sympathy with a sister republic struggling for life. France expected us to aid her against Great Britain, so recently the common foe, but Washington knew that our young Republic was in no condition for war. Gratitude perhaps required that we become the ally of France; self-preservation demanded that we remain neutral. With the approval of his Cabinet, the President issued a "Proclamation of Neutrality." He declared that the United States "would pursue a conduct friendly and impartial" toward both France and Great Britain. This proclamation was the beginning of a foreign policy essential to our national life. If the young Republic was to endure, it must take no part in the wars of European powers. The United States must work out its own destiny, holding aloof from the political struggles of the Old World.

Citizen Genêt and His Mission. At this critical time, the French Republic sent over a representative named Edmond

Genêt to enlist the aid of the United States. On landing at Charleston, Genêt received an enthusiastic welcome. He promptly fitted out privateers to attack British commerce, and enlisted troops for an expedition against the Spaniards in Florida. Genêt had a disagreeable surprise when he reached Philadelphia, for Washington received him coldly. The President knew that to permit the French minister to send out privateers from American ports meant war with Great Britain. Genêt claimed that under the treaty of alliance we were bound to aid France. Ignoring Washington's proclamation of neutrality, he continued to fit out privateers. He wrote to his own government that the President " was a weak old man, under British influence." Carried away by rashness, he threatened to appeal to the American people against Washington. This crowning folly disgusted even the Republicans, who at first had received Genêt with open arms. Washington finally settled the matter by demanding his recall. The French government was likewise displeased with Genêt's conduct and even ordered his arrest; but he escaped the guillotine by remaining in the United States. France sent another representative, but she resented our policy of neutrality, and was very bitter over the treaty which we soon afterwards made with Great Britain.

Our Grievances against Great Britain. Our neutral policy did not improve our relations with Great Britain, and three of our grievances now seemed likely to result in war:

(1) British garrisons still held Detroit, Oswego, Niagara, and other northwestern posts which belonged to us under the treaty of peace. Great Britain's excuse was that the debts due to British subjects before the war had not been paid.

(2) British cruisers captured American ships which were carrying food supplies to France, or trading with the French West Indies. Great Britain claimed that food and provisions were "contraband of war," even when carried by neutral ships. She maintained that we had no right to trade with the French West Indies in time of war, because France did not permit us to trade with these islands in time of peace. Great Britain as well as France claimed the right to establish a "paper" blockade; that

is, to issue decrees prohibiting neutral vessels from trading with the enemy's ports, and to seize them if they attempted to do so. The United States, on the other hand, maintained that a blockade could not be created by a mere decree on paper; it must be made effective by warships guarding the blockaded ports.

(3) British men-of-war searched American ships on the high seas, in order to seize or impress American sailors who had once been British subjects. Great Britain did not at this time recognize the right of her subjects to become the naturalized citizens of another country. Even American-born sailors were seized in this way, and compelled to serve in the British navy.

Jay's Treaty, 1794. War with Great Britain seemed certain. In this crisis, Washington sent John Jay as special envoy to England, where he succeeded in making a treaty. Great Britain agreed to surrender the northwestern posts by June 1, 1796, and to pay damages for such seizures of our merchant vessels as were found to be unlawful. In return, the United States promised to pay the debts due to British subjects at the beginning of the Revolution. But concerning two of our chief grievances, the treaty was silent. There was no recognition of the rights of neutrals; no promise to give up the practice of search and the seizure of American sailors. Our neutral ships were still liable to capture if they carried food supplies to French ports, or if they ignored a paper blockade, or traded with the French West Indies.

A storm of protest greeted Jay's Treaty when it was published in the United States. Jay was burned in effigy and hanged in effigy from Maine to Georgia; Hamilton was stoned while defending the treaty at a public meeting in New York; the British flag was dragged through the streets of Charleston and burned before the residence of the British consul. Even Washington was abused in language which he said " could scarcely be applied to a common pickpocket." But Washington and the Senate believed that it was a choice between the treaty or war, and they wisely chose the treaty.

The Treaty with Spain. Spain controlled the mouth of the Mississippi and owned New Orleans. This was a serious matter to the men of Kentucky and the Southwest. These frontiersmen

demanded free navigation of the Mississippi as well as a place of deposit at New Orleans, where their grain and tobacco could be stored until shipped to Europe. A treaty was made with Spain in 1795, granting these demands. Another point of dispute was settled by fixing the thirty-first parallel of latitude as the boundary line between the United States and Spanish Florida.

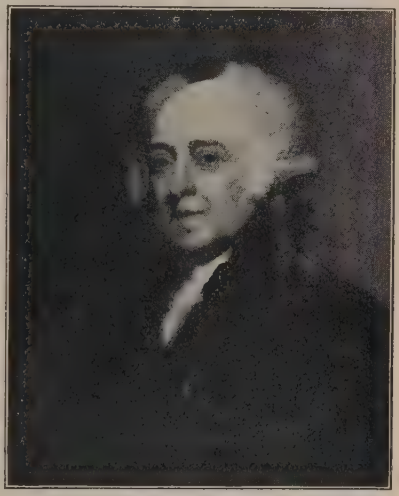
Our Commerce in the Pacific. While the United States was struggling to protect its commerce in the Atlantic, our merchants were boldly reaching out for a share in the Asiatic trade. As early as 1784, merchants of New York and Philadelphia fitted out the *Empress of China*, and started her on the long voyage to Canton. She made her port six months later, exchanged her cargo for Chinese products, and returned home. Other American ships were soon making similar voyages; in a single year (1789), fifteen vessels set sail for the Orient. Our first ships reached China by crossing the Atlantic and rounding the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean. Later the favorite route was around Cape Horn and thence up to our northwest coast, where a cargo of trinkets would be bartered with the Indians for otter and seal skins. These valuable furs were then carried to Canton and traded for teas, silks, and porcelains for the Boston market.

One of the most famous of these early voyages was that of the *Columbia*, which sailed across the Pacific to China and returned by way of the Cape of Good Hope — the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe. In the year 1792, the same ship under the command of Captain Gray of Boston made a voyage of great political as well as commercial importance. While exploring the northwest coast a little above the forty-sixth parallel, Captain Gray entered the mouth of a large river and sailed for thirty miles up its course, trading with the Indians. Gray named this great river of the Northwest the Columbia, and his discovery gave us our claim to the region which it drained.

Washington's Farewell Address. Unanimously reëlected to the Presidency in 1792, Washington's second term was now drawing to a close. The country had prospered under his wise guidance. Our credit stood high, trade and manufactures had increased, and three new states — Vermont, Kentucky, and

Tennessee — were admitted to the Union. War with Great Britain had been avoided, and domestic insurrection put down with a firm hand. The new government was no longer an experiment.

Longing to spend his few remaining days at Mount Vernon, Washington refused to become a candidate for a third term. His last care was to prepare his Farewell Address, one of the sublime documents of American history. Our first President pleaded earnestly for a true national spirit, for unselfish devotion to the Republic. He spoke of the dangers from party spirit "which agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms." Toward foreign nations, "the great rule of conduct for us is, to have with them as little political connection as possible. Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all." Within two years after his retirement, Washington passed away at his beloved Mount Vernon home (December 14, 1799). He was mourned by the entire American people, and the story of his life remains their priceless heritage.



John Adams

From the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

John Adams Becomes President, 1797. John Adams, a Federalist, became our second President, while Thomas Jefferson, his Republican opponent, was chosen Vice President. In the long contest with Great Britain, John Adams of Massachusetts had nobly served his country. As a member of the Continental Congress, he was from the outset a staunch advocate of independence. Afterwards sent abroad as envoy to France and

Holland, he took a leading part in drawing up the peace treaty of 1783, and was appointed our first minister to Great Britain. Blunt of speech, stubborn, and quick-tempered, Adams had few of the qualities of the popular leader. But our second President was a man of lofty ideals, honest in word and deed, with the full courage of his convictions. He did not receive the hearty support of the Federalist leaders, especially Hamilton; and this proved a serious obstacle to his success as President. A still greater difficulty was the quarrel with France, which Adams inherited from Washington's administration.

The U. S. Frigate *Constitution*

From the original painting by Marshall Johnson, Jr.

The *Constitution*, the most famous of our early warships, was built in 1797 and carried 44 guns. It is still preserved at the Charlestown Navy Yard.

Our Quarrel with France. France had been unfriendly since our refusal to aid her against Great Britain; she was indignant over Jay's Treaty, which gave to Great Britain some privileges not granted to France. The election of Adams was another grievance, for the Federalists had made the treaty with Great Britain which France considered a breach of faith. Our former ally now seemed bent on war. She ordered the United States minister to leave France, and each day brought news of the capture of our merchant ships by French cruisers. Hoping to prevent war, President Adams sent to France three envoys, John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and Charles C. Pinckney. A disagreeable surprise awaited these envoys at Paris.

They were told that France would not make a treaty, or even receive a minister from the United States, unless we paid a bribe of $250,000 to the corrupt Directory of five men who governed France. To this shameful demand, the reply of our envoys was: "No! not a sixpence!" President Adams reported the entire affair to Congress. He did not name the French agents who had demanded the bribe, but they were referred to in the published dispatches of our envoys as Mr. X, Mr Y, and Mr. Z. So this incident is known in our history as the "X Y Z Affair."

"War with France!" was the universal demand when the people learned how our envoys had been treated. "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute!" became the rallying cry. For the moment, men forgot parties and remembered only that the nation had been insulted. Every one joined in singing the new patriotic song, "Hail, Columbia!" and in cheers for "Adams and Liberty." Congress increased the army, and Washington was recalled from Mount Vernon to become commander in chief. The navy department was organized, new warships were built, and many of our merchant vessels were commissioned as privateers. War was not actually declared, but there was some sharp fighting on the sea. Our little navy did valiant service, while American privateers captured many French ships. France did not really wish war with this country. Talleyrand, her minister of foreign affairs, now notified President Adams that any representative sent by the United States would be properly received. The new ruler of France, Napoleon Bonaparte, signed a treaty which gave some protection to our neutral commerce, and restored friendly relations between the two countries.

The Alien and Sedition Laws, 1795. The Federalist party reached the height of its power when the X Y Z Affair became public. Moderation forsook the party in the hour of triumph, and the Federalist leaders determined to humble their political enemies. The Republican papers were making bitter attacks upon President Adams and the Federalist party. To make matters worse, much of this abuse was written by foreigners,

either Frenchmen, or refugees from England, Ireland, and Scotland. These men took sides with France and opposed our neutral policy. Congress finally passed two severe laws intended to silence the Republican press and drive the abusive foreigners out of the United States.

(1) The Alien Act gave the President authority to banish from the country any foreigner whom he considered dangerous to its welfare.

Washington Monument

Congress approved of a memorial to the first president late in December, 1799, but it was not until July 4, 1848, that the corner stone was laid. When it was 156 feet high, work was suspended until August, 1880. The dedication exercises were held Feb. 22, 1885. Total height 555 feet.

(2) The Sedition Act made it a crime to speak, write, or publish any false or malicious statement against the President or Congress, "with intent to defame them, or to bring them into disrepute."

The danger from these laws was, that they might be enforced so as to make any criticism of government a crime. Thousands of men went over to the Republican party because they believed that these measures would destroy free speech and a free press. Thus the Alien and Sedition Acts helped defeat President Adams for reëlection and hastened the overthrow of the Federalist party. Another important result was the adoption of resolutions of protest by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798. The Kentucky resolutions were drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, the Virginia resolutions by James Madison. These resolutions declared: (1) The constitution is merely an agreement or compact between the states as partners. (2) The national govern-

ment has only those powers given it by this compact. (3) The national government is not the judge of its own powers, but each state may decide for itself whether a law of Congress is contrary to the Constitution. (4) The Alien and Sedition Laws are contrary to the Constitution, and hence "void and of no effect."

Nullification Urged by Kentucky. Virginia and Kentucky invited the other states to join in this expression of disapproval,

West Point Academy from the Hudson River

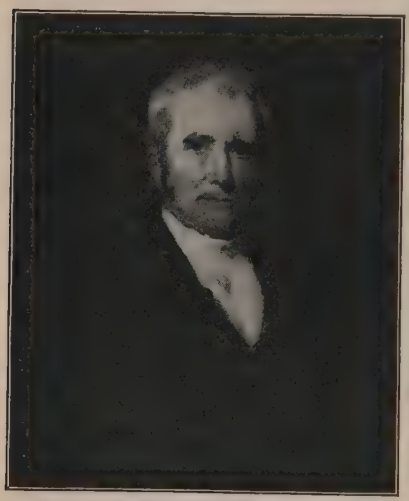
West Point had been fortified in 1776 and a huge chain stretched from shore to shore to prevent British ships from ascending the river. Alexander Hamilton, as active Commander in Chief of the Army, 1798–1800, suggested that a military academy be built here.

The long building in the foreground is the Riding Hall; the Cadet Chapel with tower lies on the hillside; at the right are the Mess Hall and the Memorial Building.

but none did so; while on the other hand, the legislatures of several northern states condemned the resolutions. One year later, the Kentucky legislature went further, and asserted the dangerous doctrine of nullification, which had been suggested by Jefferson. The claim was made that a state might nullify, or declare not binding, a law of Congress. This theory struck at the power of the Supreme Court of the United States, which under the Constitution is the final judge of the powers of the

national government. If each state could disobey any law that it does not like, the federal government would be at the mercy of the states. Soon there would be no Union at all.

The Presidential Election of 1800. The presidential campaign of 1800 was a bitter one. Adams and Pinckney were the Federalist candidates; Jefferson and Burr were nominated by the Republicans. The Federalists had been in charge of the government for twelve years; and in spite of some mistakes, they had accomplished remarkable results. Their party was divided in this election, owing to the mutual jealousy between Hamilton and Adams. Then, too, the Republicans were aided by the unpopular Alien and Sedition Laws, also by the heavy increase in government expenses. But the most important cause of the Federalist defeat was the growing spirit of democracy among the masses of the people. The Federalists favored the rule of "the rich, the well-born, and the able," and were inclined to neglect the plain common people. So the masses turned to Jefferson, the Republican candidate. This shrewd political leader had organized the farmers and working people so skillfully that the election resulted in a complete victory for the Republicans, while the Federalists were overthrown for all time.



John Marshall

From the original portrait by Henry Inman in the Virginia State Library, Richmond.

The House of Representatives Elects Jefferson. A new difficulty now arose. The Republicans had won the election, but Jefferson and Burr had each received seventy-three votes for the presidency. So the House of Representatives, in which

the Federalists had a majority, was called upon to decide between the two Republican candidates. Angered at their defeat, the Federalists planned to elect Burr, although fully aware that Jefferson was the choice of his party for the presidency. After an exciting contest, Hamilton's influence led to the election of Jefferson on the thirty-sixth ballot, while Burr became Vice President. Much as he disliked Jefferson, Hamilton preferred him to the unscrupulous Burr. As a result of the election of 1800, it was decided to amend the Constitution. By the Twelfth Amendment, adopted in 1804, the electors vote for President and Vice President on separate and distinct ballots.

John Marshall Becomes Chief Justice. The Federalists had lost control of the executive and legislative departments, but their influence upon the government was not at an end. Shortly before he went out of office, President Adams appointed John Marshall, a Federalist from Virginia, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This great judge continued in office for thirty-four years. His decisions favored a liberal construction of the Constitution and strengthened the powers of the national government. So, although the Federalist party was overthrown, its principle of broad national powers became the law of the land and influenced our entire national history.

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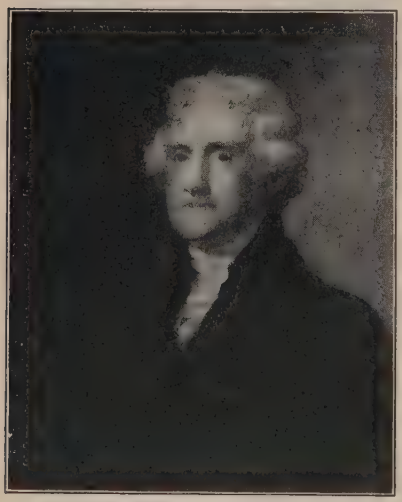
CHAPTER XX

THE POLICIES OF JEFFERSON

Jefferson's Ideas of Government. The inauguration of the first Republican President was hailed with delight throughout the Union. While Jefferson was taking the oath of office in the new capital on the Potomac, the whole country was busy with bell-ringing and cannonading. Jefferson was everywhere popular with the plain, common people, and his election was regarded as the triumph of democracy. The new President was a man of plain dress and simple manners, firmly opposed to all extravagance and display. He promptly did away with the weekly levees or formal receptions that had been held by Washington and Adams; and in many other respects "Jeffersonian simplicity" became the order of the day. He made another change from what he considered the "monarchical practice" of our first two Presidents. Instead of going before the assembled Houses to read his messages as Washington and Adams had done, Jefferson sent written messages to Congress, to be read in each house by its clerk or secretary. His example in this respect has since been followed by all of our Presidents except



Thomas Jefferson
From the original painting by Gilbert Stuart.

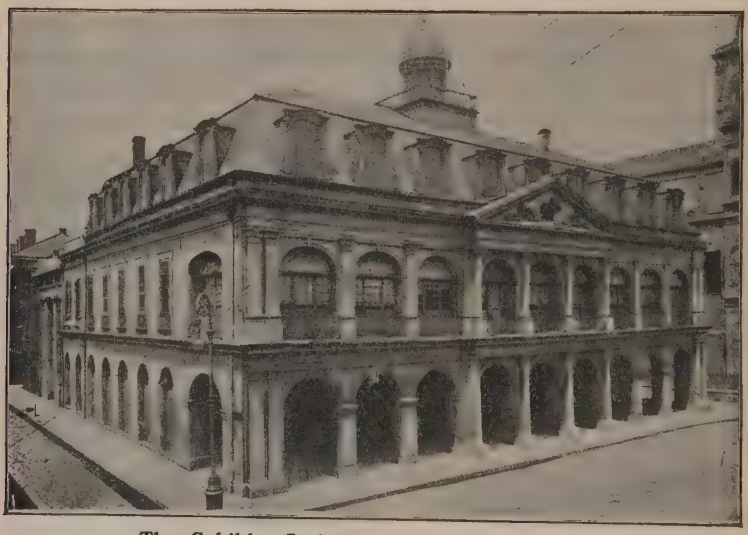
Woodrow Wilson, who went back to the earlier practice of appearing before Congress in person.

In his inaugural address, Jefferson stated the principles by which he would be guided as President. He promised to preserve the national government in all its vigor " as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad." He hoped for " peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." Above all, he urged the most strict " economy in public expense." This principle of economy was faithfully carried out by Albert Gallatin, the new Secretary of the Treasury. By cutting down the army and selling most of the ships in our little navy, military expenses were decreased, although this policy left the nation with practically no means of defending its rights. The unpopular whisky tax was repealed. The cost of running the government was reduced, so that most of its revenues could be applied to the payment of the national debt. In eight years, Gallatin's skillful management reduced this debt nearly one half.

Napoleon Secures Louisiana from Spain. The most important event of Jefferson's administration was the purchase of Louisiana, the vast unexplored region lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. This territory had been given to Spain in 1763 by a treaty that France ever afterwards regretted. The first year of Jefferson's administration saw Napoleon master of Europe, as well as ruler of France. Napoleon dreamed of restoring the colonial empire wrested from France on the Plains of Abraham. His ambition seemed about to be realized; for in 1800, he persuaded the king of Spain to cede Louisiana back to France. Alarming news this for the Americans, especially for the western settlers. From a weak nation like Spain, we had little to fear as a neighbor. It was quite another matter to have the strongest military power of Europe in control of the Mississippi, cutting off the outlet of our commerce, and blocking our westward march to the Pacific. Even Jefferson, the friend of France, declared: " There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. . . . France,

placing herself at that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance."

Our Purchase of Louisiana, 1803. To make matters worse, the Spanish commander at New Orleans suddenly took away our right to deposit goods at that port (1802). This meant the blocking of the Mississippi to American trade. It would also



The Cabildo, Jackson Square, New Orleans

The meeting place of the Spanish municipal authorities from 1795 to the day of transfer to French authority November 30, 1803. In the same room on the second floor, later the meeting-place of the Louisiana Supreme Court, Governor Claiborne received the keys of the city from the French governor, Laussat, December 20, 1803.

The lower floor is now used for a Municipal Court, and the upper, since 1910, has been a part of the State Museum.

mean war sooner or later; for the men of the West would not long endure this closing of their gateway to the world's markets. Jefferson saw that he must act at once, or these impatient frontiersmen would seize New Orleans and bring on a war. So the President sent James Monroe as special envoy to Paris, with instructions to purchase New Orleans, together with the strip of territory to the eastward.

Meantime, Napoleon felt obliged to give up his plans for a colonial empire. War with Great Britain was at hand, and Napoleon knew that he could not defend Louisiana against the mistress of the seas. In sore need of money for his armies, Napoleon declared that "it was best to sell when you could, what you were certain to lose." To the surprise of our envoys, he suddenly offered to sell to the United States not New Orleans alone, but the whole of the vast tract in the interior. Accordingly, in 1803 the treaty was signed by which we secured Louisiana for $15,000,000. Napoleon declared that he made

New Orleans in 1803

From the painting by Boqueta de Woissera in the Louisiana State Museum, showing the saw mills in the foreground, the shipping in the river, and the city, from the Marigny plantation.

the cession not so much on account of the price, as from motives of policy. "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States. I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

Jefferson was at first inclined to doubt whether the Constitution gave our government the right to purchase foreign territory and incorporate it into the Union. But he knew that the Louisiana Territory was of the utmost importance to the growth of our country, and he finally concluded that "the less said about the constitutional question, the better." Some of

the New England Federalists opposed the purchase because they thought it would lessen the future importance of their own section; but the treaty was promptly ratified by the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate.

Results of the Louisiana Purchase. (1) This purchase more than doubled the area of the United States. It added an imperial domain of 875,000 square miles, from which thirteen states have since been formed.

(2) It made possible our westward expansion to the Pacific.

(3) It encouraged immigration from Europe by opening up a vast area of cheap lands.

(4) The purchase satisfied the western settlers, for it secured the natural outlet for their commerce at New Orleans, which Spain had closed.

(5) War with France was avoided, a war almost certain to follow had the French attempted to colonize Louisiana.

Lewis and Clark Explore the Great West, 1804–1806. Even before Louisiana came into our possession, President Jefferson was planning an exploring expedition into the vast unknown country beyond the Mississippi. To penetrate the great West, with its mighty rivers and majestic mountains, its plains covered with herds of buffalo, its valleys peopled with warlike Indians, — this was indeed an exploration to thrill the hearts of its leaders. So thought Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, the two young Virginians chosen to command the expedition. These pathfinders were to follow the Missouri River to its source, then cross the Rocky Mountains, and descend the nearest stream flowing to the Pacific.

Lewis and Clark started up the Missouri from a point near St. Louis in May, 1804. There were forty-five men in all, in three boats. After a difficult journey of sixteen hundred miles, the party reached the villages of the Mandan Indians, in North Dakota, where they spent the winter. In the following spring the explorers reached Great Falls, where the Missouri passes over a series of cataracts, forming thirteen miles of cascades and rapids. Hauling the boats and luggage around the falls was no easy task; but at last the expedition reached the highest source

Exploring the Great West, 1803–1806

of the Missouri. Here the boats were hidden, and the leaders prepared for the difficult journey across the mountains. Fortunately, a friendly band of Shoshone Indians was at hand, from whom Captain Lewis secured horses. Then followed weeks of hardship and hunger, while his men worked their way through the forest-clad passes of the Rockies. They finally came to one of the branches of the Snake River, where canoes were built in which the entire party soon reached and floated down the swift-flowing Columbia. On November 7, 1805, the roar of breakers was heard in the distance. The explorers had reached their goal at last. On the shore of the Pacific they built a camp, where they passed a second dreary winter.

The return journey was begun in March, 1806; and September of that year found the intrepid explorers again at St. Louis. Lewis and Clark had performed a feat without parallel in the history of exploration. They were the first white men to cross the continent within the boundaries of the United States. Their journal of the expedition gave the country its first definite knowledge about the great West. These pathfinders opened the way to the American fur trader and trapper, soon to be followed by the settler. Most important of all, their exploration of the Oregon country strengthened our title to that region, as against the claims of Great Britain and Russia.

Exploration of the Southwest, 1805–1806. Another explorer, Zebulon Pike, led an expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi in an attempt to discover its source. The following year, Pike made a second exploration across Kansas and Colorado, and into New Mexico. In Colorado he discovered and ascended the lofty peak that bears his name. With a dozen of his hardiest followers, he then struck through the mountains and at last reached the Rio Grande. Here the little party was seized by the Spaniards and held for some time as prisoners.

The Conspiracy of Aaron Burr, 1806–1807. Following close upon these explorations, the West was the scene of another expedition led by the brilliant but unprincipled Aaron Burr. Twice Burr had failed to reach the goal of his ambition, first the presidency, and afterwards the governorship of New York. Both defeats he laid at the door of his personal enemy, Alexander Hamilton. Duelling was then a common practice; and, although Burr was Vice President of the United States, he sent a challenge to Hamilton and killed him in the encounter. This ended Burr's political career, but soon afterwards he formed a plan to conquer the Spanish possessions in the Southwest, and establish a government of which he should be the head. Jefferson believed that Burr also intended to capture New Orleans and detach the Mississippi Territory from the Union. While he was descending the Mississippi River with an armed force of one hundred men, Burr was arrested by federal officers and placed on trial for treason. He was acquitted of the charge because it could not be proven that he had actually levied war against the United States; but he was dishonored for life, and died many years later, a broken-hearted man.

War with the Barbary Pirates. To-day it seems almost beyond belief that the small Mohammedan states of northern Africa were able for many years to plunder the commerce of Christian nations. Not only did these pirates attack vessels, but they often seized the crews and passengers and held them for ransom. Instead of declaring war on the Barbary States, the maritime powers of Europe purchased peace by paying them an

annual tribute. This situation resulted from the mutual jealousy of the European powers. Each nation chose to buy peace for itself, rather than go to war; for after peace was purchased, the pirates were left free to prey upon the commerce of other nations. The United States at first followed this shameful example, and for sixteen years paid annual tribute to the rulers of Tripoli, Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis. Early in Jefferson's administration, still larger payments were demanded, and even the peace-loving President concluded that war was less expensive than

Monticello

A view from the south terrace of the house Jefferson built after his own design. Unlike Mount Vernon and other southern plantations, there were no negro quarters and outbuildings around the house itself. From the northeast terrace Jefferson observed through a telescope the workmen building the University of Virginia, which he founded at Charlottesville.

"tribute and ransom." Commodore Preble's little squadron soon compelled Tripoli to agree to peace without tribute. This taught the other Barbary States a lesson, and they no longer molested our commerce.

The United States and the Napoleonic Wars. More dangerous to our commerce than the Barbary pirates were the two chief powers of Europe, Great Britain and France. War between these countries broke out anew in 1803. Napoleon was then emperor of France, and dictator on the continent of Europe. But on the ocean, Britain reigned supreme, for Nelson's brilliant victory at

Trafalgar crushed the last hope of French naval power. While the nations of Europe were engaged in the Napoleonic wars, American shipowners were reaping the rich harvest of neutrality. With all the world at war, ours was the only flag under which cargoes could be carried to European ports. Trade between France and her colonies in the West Indies was in our hands, for Great Britain's powerful navy had driven her enemy's flag from the ocean.

British Orders and French Decrees. The warring nations paid little heed to the rights of neutrals. Great Britain was determined to stop our profitable trade with the French West Indies. She claimed that by carrying food supplies from the West Indies to France we were helping Napoleon even more than if we supplied him with men and guns. Since France did not permit us to trade with her West Indies in time of peace, Great Britain said that she could not turn this trade over to us in time of war. In the years 1806–1807, both Great Britain and France began to issue orders and decrees against neutral commerce. Napoleon, in his Berlin and Milan Decrees, declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, authorized the capture of any ship sailing to or from the ports of Great Britain or her colonies, and ordered the seizure of any neutral ship that permitted itself to be searched by a British vessel. This was only a paper blockade, since the French navy had been almost completely destroyed. Great Britain replied with the Orders in Council, forbidding neutral trade with the ports of France and her allies.

As a result of these decrees, an American ship bound for any European port outside of Sweden, Russia, or Turkey, was liable to capture. The decrees were unjust, and contrary to the principles of international law as recognized to-day; but Great Britain and France were locked in a life and death struggle which did not take into account the rights of neutral nations. So during the nine years between 1803 and 1812, American commerce suffered enormous losses. The British captured nine hundred of our vessels, the French more than five hundred. Great Britain and France abused us alike; but the British made

THE UNITED STATES IN 1803
Capitals of States and Territories: ⊙
0 100 300 500
Scale of Miles
BRITISH TERRITORY
OREGON COUNTRY
SPANISH TERRITORY
LOUISIANA
INDIANA TERRITORY
ILLINOIS TERRITORY
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
Added to Mississippi Territory 1804
Boundary
Purchased from France by U.S. 1803
Ceded by Spain to France 1800
Ceded by France to Spain 1800
Spanish
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW YORK
PENN.
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
MAINE
MASS.
VERMONT
N. HAMP.
R. I.
CONN.
N. JERSEY
DEL.
Quebec
Montreal
Sault ste. Marie
Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Albany
Boston
Hartford
New York
Philadelphia
Trenton
Lancaster
Pittsburgh
Baltimore
Annapolis
Washington
Dover
Cincinnati
Chillicothe
Vincennes
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Frankfort
Louisville
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
Nashville
Knoxville
Chickasaw Bluffs
Columbia
Milledgeville
Savannah
Natchez
Mobile
New Orleans
St. Augustine
Santa Fe
Columbia R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Red R.
Arkansas R.
Bahama Islands
120 115 110 105 100 95 90 85 80 75 70 65
45 40 35 30 25
Longitude West 90 from Greenwich 85

more captures, impressed more seamen, and aroused the greater hostility.

The Attack on the *Chesapeake*. For many years, Great Britain claimed and exercised the right to search foreign vessels for supposed deserters from the British navy. In this way thousands of American sailors, many of whom had never set foot on British soil, were impressed and forced to the decks of British men-of-war. The crisis came when the British ship *Leopard* fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, whose commander refused to submit to the right of search. The *Leopard* at once opened fire, killing three American sailors and wounding eighteen others. The *Chesapeake* was not prepared for a fight, and Captain Barron was forced to haul down his flag. British officers then boarded the *Chesapeake*, while the American sailors stood in ranks for inspection. Four sailors were seized, three of whom were American-born, after which the *Chesapeake* was permitted to drift back to Hampton Roads.

The entire country was stirred by this outrage, and there were loud demands for war. President Jefferson resisted this demand, for he reasoned that the act was that of the British admiral alone, and was probably unauthorized by his government. To allay popular resentment, the President issued a proclamation ordering all British warships out of American waters. He also instructed our minister at London to demand a disavowal of the act and restoration of the men impressed. The British government complied with this demand, restored the impressed seamen to the deck of the *Chesapeake* and paid a money award to the wounded sailors and to the families of those slain. Great Britain announced that she did not claim the right to search warships for deserters, but only insisted upon the right to search merchant ships. Thus the *Chesapeake* affair was due to the blunder of an individual commander, whose act was disavowed by his own government.

The Embargo Act, 1807. A great leader amid political storms, Jefferson was helpless when the war-clouds gathered. Between the orders and decrees of France and Great Britain, there was only one of three courses for our country to follow.

We must fight for our neutral rights, tamely submit, or abandon the ocean. Jefferson chose the last. He believed that Great Britain and France could not exist without the food supplies of the United States. On his recommendation, Congress passed an Embargo Act, which forbade American vessels to sail to any foreign port. Jefferson believed that the Embargo would starve Great Britain and France into recognition of our neutral rights.

But the Embargo did far more harm to the United States than to Great Britain or France. In a single year our export trade dropped from $110,000,000 to $22,000,000. Our shipbuilding industry was crushed, while American farmers were almost ruined by the loss of their foreign markets. From commercial New England came strong protests, coupled with threats of secession. France and Great Britain treated the Embargo with contempt. Napoleon ordered the seizure of all American vessels in French ports, and when our minister protested, he replied that he was merely aiding President Jefferson to enforce the Embargo. Realizing that the measure had failed to accomplish its purpose, Congress repealed the Embargo in the last days of Jefferson's second term. In its place Congress passed a Non-Intercourse Act, forbidding trade with France and Great Britain so long as they enforced their unjust decrees against our commerce.

James Madison Becomes President, March 4, 1809. Following the example of our first President, Jefferson declined to become a candidate for a third term. Toward the close of January he wrote: "Five weeks later will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal." His successor as President was his close friend and Secretary of State, James Madison; while George Clinton was reëlected Vice President. Madison was a Virginian, and a prominent member of the Republican party formed by Jefferson. He had rendered distinguished service in helping to frame our federal Constitution, and had served with ability in the Virginia legislature and in Congress. Madison was a peace-loving man, wise in counsel, and a great legislator. His nature and training made him

better fitted to deal with measures than with men; and he proved a timid and irresolute Executive during the troubled times that were to follow.

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SPECIAL TOPICS FOR PUPILS

1. **The Louisiana Purchase.** BRUCE, H. A., *Romance of American Expansion*, ch. II; DRAKE, S. A., *Making of the Great West*, pp. 171–183; FARIS, J. T., *Real Stories from Our History*, ch. XVI; *Great Epochs in American History*, IV, pp. 14–154; SPARKS, E. E., *Expansion of the American People*, chs. XVI–XVII; WRIGHT, H. C., *American Progress*, ch. III.

2. **The Conspiracy of Aaron Burr.** ELSON, H. W., *Side Lights on American History*, ch. VII; *Great Epochs in American History*, IV, pp. 180–185; HART, A. B., *Formation of the Union*, pp. 189–191; NICOLAY, HELEN, *Our Nation in the Building*, ch. IV; SPARKS, E. E., *Expansion of the American People*, pp. 211–215.

3. **Lewis and Clarke.** DRAKE, S. A., *The Making of the Great West*, pp. 184–197; ELSON, H. W., *Side Lights on American History*, ch. VI; *Great Epochs in American History*, IV, pp. 159–169; WRIGHT, H. C., *American Progress*, ch. IV.

4. **Thomas Jefferson.** *Great Epochs in American History*, IV, pp. 125–139; MERWIN, H. C., *Thomas Jefferson* (Riverside Biographical Series); SPARKS, E. E., *Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. VII; WILSON, J. G., *The Presidents*, I, ch. III.

From the painting by George P. A. Healy in Faneuil Hall, Boston.

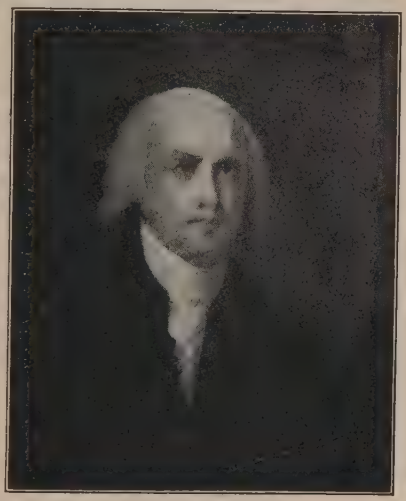
Daniel Webster Replying to Senator Hayne, January 26, 1830

Webster's speech on this occasion was an eloquent exposition of the national idea of government, as opposed to the theory of state rights. It is considered by many the greatest speech ever delivered in Congress.

CHAPTER XXI

THE WAR OF 1812

Great Britain and the Napoleonic Wars. The effort to protect our commerce by means of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts proved in vain; and the crisis in our relations with Great Britain came just three years after President Madison took office. For many years, the island kingdom had been engaged in a life and death struggle to stay the advance of Napoleon in Europe. Great Britain faced then, just as in the World War of our own day, a military despot who was seeking to dominate the whole world. In 1812 Napoleon made ready to invade Russia in order to close the ports of Europe to British trade. He planned in this way to starve into submission the island that he could not invade. Great Britain was just as determined to cut off Napoleon's source of supplies. The thousand ships of her navy ruled the oceans. The captains of nine hundred captured American vessels could testify to their vigilance. "Trade carried on with the enemies of England is war in disguise," was the only answer to our protests. So our War of 1812 came about largely as a



James Madison

From the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the Art Gallery, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

result of British efforts to enforce an effective blockade against Napoleon.

Impressment of American Sailors. Worse than the capture of our ships was the impressment of American sailors. As the war with France dragged on, thousands of seamen deserted from the British navy where the service was hard and the wages poor. Many were attracted by the higher pay and better treatment on board American ships. The deserting sailors were furnished with "first papers" of American citizenship, and these papers passed from hand to hand for a few dollars. Nearly every American ship had among its crew "Britishers" who had recently obtained such papers. Great Britain had always claimed that no subject of that country could, by his own action, renounce his allegiance. So the British navy made a practice of searching American merchantmen at sea; and by 1812 more than six thousand sailors had been impressed from our ships. Some of these were deserters from the British navy, who wished to become naturalized citizens of the United States; but most of them were native-born Americans, seized without a shadow of right.

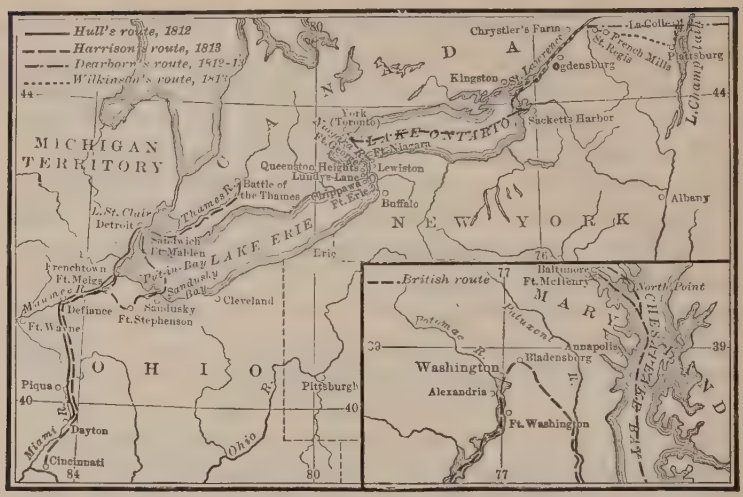
Napoleon's Unfriendly Actions. France treated us almost as harshly as Great Britain; but being less powerful on the sea, she impressed fewer of our sailors. Nevertheless, her cruisers captured five hundred American ships; and, while assuring us of his friendship, Napoleon was guilty of repeated acts of treachery. At one time he offered to revoke his decrees against our commerce, if we should compel Great Britain "to respect our rights." Great Britain refused to do so; and when American vessels arrived in French ports, they were seized and their cargoes confiscated. Napoleon said he did this out of friendship for the United States. Since our laws forbade American ships to sail, he pretended to believe that these must be British ships illegally flying the American flag.

The War Party in Congress. "Weak as we are," said Henry Clay of Kentucky, "we can fight England and France both, if necessary, in a good cause — the cause of honor and independence." Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives and leader of the war party. He spoke the sentiment of the new

West — ardent, self-reliant, aggressive. Leadership in Congress had now passed from the older Revolutionary statesmen into the hands of Clay, Calhoun, and other rising young leaders from the South and West. New England and the Federalists were strongly opposed to a war that would destroy their commerce; but opposition was swept away before the eloquence of Clay and the logic of Calhoun. "Which shall we do," asked John C. Calhoun of South Carolina — "abandon or defend our commercial and maritime rights, and the personal liberties of our citizens in exercising them? These rights are attacked, and war is the only means of redress."

Comparative Strength of the Two Nations. War with Great Britain seemed like a contest between a pygmy and a giant. Our regular army numbered less than seven thousand men, scattered along the frontier posts. The chief officers were Revolutionary veterans, old men no longer competent to lead armies. On the sea we appeared even weaker than on land. Our little navy had but sixteen vessels to oppose the thousand warships belonging to the mistress of the seas. The population of the United States was about eight million people, that of Great Britain twenty million. Our government's revenue was only $10,000,000 a year; the British revenue was seven times as large. In our favor was the fact that Great Britain was engaged in a mighty combat with Napoleon, which would prevent her from sending large armies to America. Another advantage was our geographical position. To attack this country, Great Britain must transport her troops across the broad Atlantic.

Drifting toward War. The ill-feeling against Great Britain was increased in 1811 as a result of the Indian attacks on our western frontier. The Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, and his brother, the "Prophet," formed a plan to unite all the Indian tribes of the country against the steady advance of the white settlers. This project came to a sudden end when William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, routed Tecumseh's braves at Tippecanoe. Harrison reported that the Indians had been armed and equipped from the British post at Malden.



The Campaigns in the North, the West, and in the Vicinity of Washington

Despite the victories of Harrison and Scott, the land campaigns did not gain their ends. Failure sobered the people and silenced the partisan charge that it was a war of the Republican party, "Mr. Madison's War." The life of the nation was again at stake.

The frontiersmen firmly believed that the British government was behind this work, and there was strong feeling for a counter attack on Canada.

The Declaration of War, June 18, 1812. President Madison was a strong friend of peace, but he finally yielded to the pressure of public opinion and sent a war message to Congress. That body passed a declaration of war against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. Three principal grounds were given for this action, and the grievances complained of fully justified our action in declaring war. (1) Impressment, the British practice denounced by John Quincy Adams as "the right of manstealing from the vessels of the United States." (2) The seizure of American ships and their cargoes, and the attempt to enforce paper blockades; that is, blockades not supported by an effective force. (3) The British government was charged with having encouraged the Indians to attack our citizens and raid our settlements on the northwestern frontier.

Thus the War of 1812 was the direct outcome of Great Britain's struggle against Napoleon. France and Great Britain were striking at each other's commerce; ours being in the way suffered the usual fate of the innocent bystander. Many liberal Whigs in England had urged their government to adopt a conciliatory policy toward the United States. As a result of their attitude, Great Britain agreed to withdraw her Orders in Council just two days before our declaration of war. Had there been a cable across the Atlantic to carry the news of this decision, it is probable that Congress would not have declared war. But when the news finally reached America, our government decided to continue the war unless Great Britain should also renounce her practice of impressment.

The Attack upon Canada, 1812. Canada was the only British territory within reach by land attack. Western Canada was settled largely by Loyalist refugees from the United States. These Loyalists and their children had not changed their sentiments since Bunker Hill. Indians and Loyalists from Canada had continuously harassed and plundered the American settlers along the northwestern border. Henry Clay declared in Congress that the conquest of Canada would be the first task, one which the Kentucky militia alone could accomplish. "On to Canada" was the slogan in Congress and throughout the country.

Even before war was declared an expedition had started forth under command of General William Hull, an old Revolutionary veteran, to defend the settlements, garrison Detroit, and destroy the British supply post at Fort Malden. When Hull with his little army was near Detroit he received word that war was declared. The British had captured his vessels sent ahead, with all his hospital supplies, intrenching tools, and military papers. Undismayed, Hull crossed into Canada and in a sharp skirmish near Malden won the first victory of the war. But the Americans soon found themselves besieged at Detroit by a large force of British regulars, Loyalists, and Indians. In the end Hull surrendered his army, which had become reduced to about 1000 men, believing that only by this action could he prevent the horrors of an Indian massacre. With the surrender of Detroit

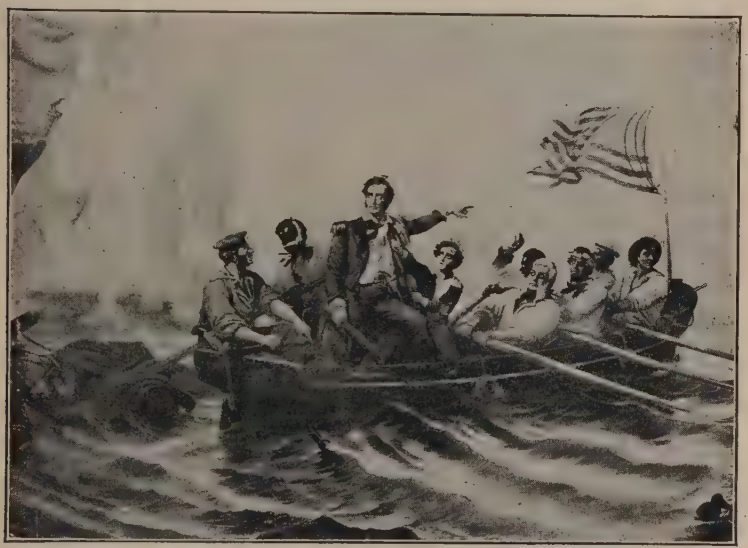
the whole of Michigan Territory passed under British control, and our northwestern frontier was at the mercy of the Indians.

Like disaster overtook a Niagara expedition. At Queenston Heights, a few miles north of Niagara Falls, another American general was beaten back with the loss of a thousand men. The third attacking column went northward by the Hudson-Champlain route, but the militia refused to cross the Canadian boundary. So the entire campaign of 1812 ended in failure. Our armies were led by incompetent officers, while the troops were untrained, poorly equipped, and in every way unprepared for their difficult task. Later events were to prove that the militia was not able to defend our national capital, much less to attack Canada.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, September, 1813. To retrieve Hull's disgrace, General William H. Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, was placed in command of the American forces in the Northwest. Harrison moved northward to defend the Ohio frontier and recover Detroit, but he could not advance against this post while the British were in control of Lake Erie. One day in September, 1813, General Harrison received a message which thrilled him with delight. It read: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." The message was sent by Oliver Hazard Perry; it announced his victory over the British fleet at the battle of Lake Erie. Perry had ten ships under his command, five of which he had built from green timber cut from the banks of Lake Erie. On the morning of September 10, his fleet sailed out from Put-in-Bay to meet the British squadron. Captain Barclay, who had fought under Nelson at Trafalgar, was his adversary.

The battle raged fiercely for three hours. Leading the American line, Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*, was at last cut to pieces by the fire from the British ships. Of one hundred and three men on board, all but twenty were shot down. Instead of striking his flag, Perry leaped into a rowboat, and with his young brother and a few seamen, started for the *Niagara*. Again and again the *Detroit* fired at this frail target, but the little party reached the *Niagara's* decks without injury. Above his

new flagship Perry rehoisted the blue flag which bore Lawrence's dying words, "Don't Give up the Ship." He then gave the signal for his squadron to close in, and the broadsides from the American guns turned defeat into victory. By three o'clock in the afternoon, all six of the British ships had struck their colors. Had it not been for Perry's victory, the Northwest Territory might have remained a British prize of war.



© *Underwood and Underwood.*

Commodore Perry at the Battle of Lake Erie

Perry being rowed from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*. In his new flagship he broke the enemy's line, and won a decisive victory.

Fighting along the Canadian Frontier, 1813–1814. Perry's victory forced the British troops to abandon Detroit and retreat into Canada. They were closely pursued by Harrison, who routed Proctor's army in the Battle of the Thames (1813). Tecumseh, who had proven such a valuable British ally, was killed, while many of Proctor's men were taken prisoners. This decisive victory put an end to the Indian Confederacy in the Northwest; it also won back Detroit and Michigan Territory,

which Hull had lost. Eastern Canada was again invaded during this year, but with little success. General Dearborn succeeded in capturing York (now Toronto), and some of his men, acting without orders, set fire to Parliament House. Late in the autumn, an unsuccessful attempt was made to capture Montreal. The British took the offensive as winter came on; they captured Fort Niagara, and laid waste the country around Buffalo.

New generals were placed in command of the American armies in 1814, the most successful of whom were Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott. The campaign along the Niagara frontier was continued, and in the battle of Chippewa, General Scott won a signal victory. Another fierce battle took place at Lundy's Lane three weeks later. In spite of the individual bravery of the American troops, it proved impossible for our armies to conquer Canada. The Canadian people rose against the invader; while Great Britain, at last victor over Napoleon, was able to send large reinforcements to America.

The War on the Ocean. Englishmen were justly proud of their navy, which for centuries had reigned supreme on the ocean. From the defeat of the Spanish Armada to Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, the fleets of Great Britain had never failed her in the hour of need. In 1812 the thousand warships flying the British flag were more than a match for the combined navies of the world. Yet it was on the sea, the domain of her boasted strength, that Great Britain met her serious defeats in this war. When hostilities began, Englishmen laughed at our "few fir-built frigates." It was never dreamed that these despised ships would break the spell of British naval power and forever settle the question of search and impressment.

Famous Sea Duels. Of the twelve single-ship duels fought during the war, eight were won by American ships, two were British victories, and in two the honors were even. Our first great naval victory was won by Captain Isaac Hull of the *Constitution*, which met the British frigate *Guerrière* off the Gulf of St. Lawrence (August, 1812). Not until the two ships were within short pistol range did Hull give the command, "Now, boys, pour it into them!" Then broadside after broadside was

The *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, August 19, 1812

From the original painting by Marshall Johnson in the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Boston.

The *Constitution* was the sister ship of the *Philadelphia* which Decatur, in one of the most brilliant exploits of the navy, set on fire in the harbor of Tripoli, February 16, 1804, to prevent its use by the Barbary pirates.

The *Constitution* carried an armament of 44 guns.

delivered with terrific effect. Within half an hour the British ship lay a helpless hulk, rolling her deck guns in the heavy sea.

This splendid victory aroused wild enthusiasm throughout America. England was stunned at the news, but worse was to follow. In October, 1812, the American sloop *Wasp* defeated the British *Frolic*. One week later, Captain Decatur, in command of the frigate *United States*, captured the *Macedonian* off the Madeira Islands, and brought his prize into Newport harbor. Next the *Constitution*, now fondly called "Old Ironsides," destroyed the frigate *Java* off the coast of Brazil. The fifth American victory was won when the sloop *Hornet* sank the *Peacock* off the coast of South America. Meantime, the *Essex* made a wonderful seventeen-months' cruise in the Pacific capturing many prizes, and destroying British commerce in that part of the world.

What Great Britain Thought of Our Naval Victories. Never since Britain had ships had she suffered such defeats. The loss of five war vessels was of small moment; but the loss of her naval prestige was a matter of vital concern. In vain the London papers tried to explain away these defeats by saying that the American vessels carried more men and threw heavier broadsides. The fact was that the men behind the guns on the American ships were too much for their adversaries. Moreover, Yankee ingenuity had invented a system of sights upon naval artillery which made the aim of the American guns more accurate than that of the British. London was wild with joy when the long series of defeats was at last broken by a victory. This was won by the British frigate *Shannon*, which captured the ill-fated *Chesapeake*. In a bloody engagement that lasted only fifteen minutes, Captain Lawrence, the brave commander of the *Chesapeake*, fell mortally wounded. As he was being carried below, his last words were, "Don't give up the ship! Blow her up!" — a battle cry never forgotten in the American navy.

Our Privateers Harass Great Britain's Commerce. As the war wore on, British fleets bottled up most of our frigates in harbors along the Atlantic coast. Not so with the privateers. Throughout the war, these bold, swift-sailing vessels swarmed

on every sea, preying upon British commerce. They invaded even the English Channel and the Irish Sea. One Captain Boyle, who had thirty prizes to his credit, issued a burlesque proclamation declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade. So many merchant ships were captured that no insurance could be had for a cargo to be carried from England to Ireland. The British navy was humiliated; the more so that all this damage was done by "a few petty fly-by-nights," as the London *Chronicle* said. In the first six months of the war, our privateers captured more ships than Great Britain had lost to all the rest of the world in twenty years.

Great Britain Plans a Triple Attack, 1814. After the defeat of Napoleon at Leipsic, Great Britain was able to send to America thousands of Wellington's veterans, men who boasted that they had not slept under a roof for seven years. She planned to crush the United States by a threefold attack. One army was to march southward from Canada, along the route which Burgoyne had taken thirty-seven years before; another army aided by the fleet was to attack Washington and Baltimore; while a third force was to capture New Orleans, and secure control of the Mississippi. The first part of this program was carried out in September, 1814, when New York was invaded along Burgoyne's old route by ten thousand British troops, supported by a fleet on Lake Champlain. Young Lieutenant Macdonough with a smaller American fleet met the British ships off Plattsburg, and won a brilliant victory. After an indecisive land battle near the scene of the naval action, the invading army retreated to Canada.

The British Capture Washington and Attack Baltimore. The British were more successful in their invasion along the Atlantic coast. The entire coast was blockaded by warships, Maine was invaded, and the enemy's fleet finally appeared in Chesapeake Bay for an attack upon Washington and Baltimore. Washington was then a city of eight thousand inhabitants, without fortifications of any kind. President Madison called for militia to defend the city, but the American forces were easily routed at Bladensburg, a few miles away. The British

army then advanced upon Washington (August 24, 1814). The federal officials fled hurriedly, but Mrs. Madison did not leave the White House until she had removed to a place of safety the Stuart portrait of Washington, together with many important government papers. It was fortunate that she did so; for the British troops, acting under strict orders from their government, plundered and burned the White House as well as the Capitol and other public buildings. Priceless public archives, historical and scientific records, and works of art were destroyed.

Three weeks later came the attack on Baltimore. Five thousand veteran troops were to make an assault by land, while the British fleet bombarded Fort McHenry which guarded the harbor. All day and far into the night the cannonade continued. Francis Scott Key, a citizen of Baltimore, was held on board a British vessel during the attack. Anxiously he watched the bombardment during the evening, and still more anxiously he awaited "the dawn's early light." The sight of the stars and stripes still waving above the fort next morning was his inspiration for our national hymn, "The Star Spangled Banner." Fort McHenry could not be taken, so the invading army retreated to the shore and embarked on the transports. A few days later the fleet withdrew from the harbor, and the siege of Baltimore was over.

The Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. The third part of the British plan was the capture of New Orleans, and with it, the control of the Mississippi River. The British anticipated an easy victory, for they had a fleet of fifty vessels and an army of sixteen thousand veterans. The defense of the city was in the hands of Andrew Jackson, who had just finished a brilliant campaign against the Creek Indians. Jackson had an army of six thousand Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen. He threw up a long line of breastworks and coolly awaited the British assault. Against these defenses the British general, Sir Edward Pakenham, hurled five thousand soldiers. Charging over a flat, open country, they were met by a terrific fire from the best marksmen in America. As one red line was cut down, another advanced to take its place; but at last even Wellington's veterans could do no

more. This crushing defeat cost the British two thousand men, including the brave Pakenham; Jackson's loss was only eight men killed and thirteen wounded. It was a splendid victory, the greatest won by either side during the war. New Orleans made Andrew Jackson a national hero.

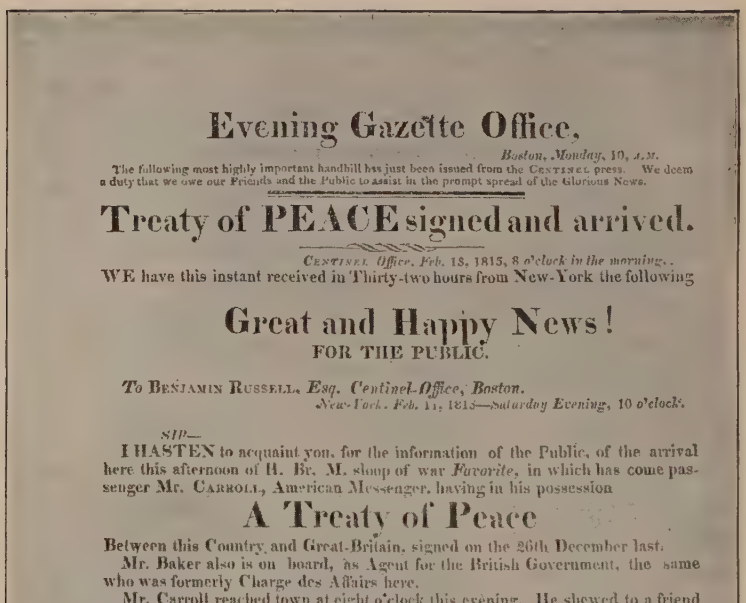
The Treaty of Ghent. Had there been a cable across the Atlantic in 1815, the battle of New Orleans would not have been fought. Two weeks before Jackson's brilliant victory, commissioners from the United States and Great Britain had signed a peace treaty at Ghent (December 24, 1814). Oddly enough, the treaty was silent about the very things that had caused the war. There was not a word about impressment, the practice of search, or the rights of neutrals. The treaty simply provided for peace, and for the surrender by each nation of all conquered territory.

Campaigns in the Southwest

Results of the War. (1) *Commercial freedom secured.* Although the treaty said nothing about the attacks on our commerce, Great Britain did not again attempt to search our ships, or to impress our sailors. The new republic, which had been distrusted abroad as a doubtful experiment, now had respect as an established power among the nations.

(2) *The war created a strong national feeling.* Our political parties no longer took sides, the Republicans with France, and the Federalists with Great Britain. All parties and sections felt a common pride in our navy and in the soldiers who had made such a gallant stand at New Orleans.

(3) *New domestic problems arise.* With the growth of this national feeling, Americans no longer looked anxiously across



Evening Gazette Office.

Boston, Monday, 10, *A.M.*

The following most highly important handbill has just been issued from the CENTINEL press. We deem a duty that we owe our Friends and the Public to assist in the prompt spread of the Glorious News.

Treaty of PEACE signed and arrived.

CENTINEL Office, Feb. 18, 1815, 8 *o'clock in the morning.*

WE have this instant received in Thirty-two hours from New-York the following

Great and Happy News!

FOR THE PUBLIC.

To BENJAMIN RUSSELL, *Esq. Centinel Office, Boston.*

New-York. Feb. 11, 1815—*Saturday Evening*, 10 *o'clock.*

SIR—

I HASTEN to acquaint you, for the information of the Public, of the arrival here this afternoon of H. Br. M. sloop of war *Favorite*, in which has come passenger Mr. CARROLL, American Messenger, having in his possession

A Treaty of Peace

Between this Country and Great-Britain, signed on the 26th December last.

Mr. Baker also is on board, as Agent for the British Government, the same who was formerly Charge des Affairs here.

Mr. Carroll reached town at eight o'clock this evening. He shewed to a friend of mine, who is acquainted with him, the pacquet containing the *Treaty*, and a London newspaper of the last date of December, announcing the signing of the Treaty.

It depends, however, as my friend observed, upon the act of the President to suspend hostilities on this side.

The gentleman left London the 2d Jan. The *Transit* had sailed previously from a port on the Continent.

This city is in a perfect uproar of joy, shouts, illuminations, &c. &c.

I have undertaken to send you this by Express—the rider engaging to deliver it by Eight o'clock on Monday morning. The expense will be 225 *dollars:—If you can collect so much to indemnify me I will thank you to do so.*

I am with respect, Sir, your obedient servant,

JONATHAN GOODHUE.

☞ We most heartily felicitate our Country on this auspicious news, which may be relied on as wholly authentic.—CENTINEL.

Handbill Announcing the Treaty of Ghent

Express riders carried similar bills to the important cities and towns of the country. In New York, Jackson's victory at New Orleans and the treaty of peace were celebrated at the same time. A transparency on the City Hall suggestive of the two events showed the American eagle bearing in one talon the thunderbolts of war, and in the other the olive branch of peace.

the sea, lest the coming ship should bear unfriendly tidings from Europe. Men turned their eyes toward the great West and the frontier, with its opportunities for the upbuilding of a mighty nation. The old questions of neutral rights, impressment, and embargo, passed away. The new problems related to domestic affairs, — to internal improvements, public lands, the tariff, the banking system, and the extension of slavery.

(4) *The war encouraged the growth of American manufactures.* With our supply of European goods cut off, Americans engaged in manufacturing on a larger scale than ever before. The Embargo measure, the Non-Intercourse Act, and then the war itself, served to promote domestic manufactures, acting like a protective duty. When peace was declared, British merchants sent over immense quantities of goods, which were sold at lower prices than the American products. Our manufacturers at once appealed to Congress for a protective tariff. They declared that domestic manufactures must be protected from the competition of foreign-made goods produced by cheaper labor. So Congress passed a protective tariff law in 1816, increasing the import duties on cotton and woolen goods, leather, hats, paper, sugar, and salt.

(5) *Opposition to the war led to the downfall of the Federalist party.* New England opposed the war from the beginning, realizing that it would destroy her commerce. The Federalist leaders of that section had no confidence in the Republicans, and were unsparing in their criticism of "Mr. Madison's War." When the President first called for militia, the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island refused to raise troops to serve outside their states. New England also withheld her financial support: the South and the West had made the war — let them pay for it! Finally, in December, 1814, delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island assembled at Hartford. They met to adopt measures to protect their rights, so they said; but the country believed that the real object of their secret sessions was to plan disunion. This convention sounded the death knell of the Federalist party, for the people never forgave its disloyal opposition to the War of 1812.

Time Vindicates Our Position Concerning Neutral Rights. Time was to vindicate America's position concerning neutral rights, the principles for which we waged the War of 1812. Only a few years later, the highest judicial authority in England gave his opinion that the British Orders in Council were not only unjust to neutrals, but were also contrary to British law and to the law of nations. In 1856, Great Britain, together with France and other European powers, agreed to abide by certain important rules governing the conduct of nations in time of war. This Declaration of Paris, as it was called, provided that: (1) neutral ships are not liable to seizure unless carrying contraband of war; (2) blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is, maintained by a force strong enough to prevent access to the enemy's coast. Great Britain made no attempt to continue the practice of search and impressment after 1815; and in 1858 her Foreign Secretary, Lord Malmesbury, frankly stated that "we have no legal claim to the right of visit and search which has hitherto been assumed."

The Rush-Bagot Agreement, 1817. The War of 1812 had led to the construction on the Great Lakes of fleets of small but efficient warships. After the treaty of peace, the rivalry continued to determine which country was to have naval supremacy on the lakes. At Kingston on the Canadian side, three ships-of-the-line were being built, each mounting 74 guns; while across the lake at Sackett's Harbor two rival 74's were on the stocks. This competition in the building of warships was likely to prove a constant menace to cordial relations between the United States and its neighbor. Accordingly, a wiser course was adopted. Great Britain sent Charles Bagot to represent her at Washington, with positive instructions to promote cordial relations with the United States. In 1817, the two governments signed the Rush-Bagot agreement, by which they bound themselves to maintain no warships on the lakes. To guard against smugglers, each government was permitted to have four small vessels of not over one hundred tons, armed with a single cannon; but all warships on the lakes were to be dismantled, and no others were to be built. In accordance

with this agreement, each country sold or scuttled more than a dozen vessels.

This agreement for naval disarmament on the lakes was one of the most important treaties in our history. The absence of rival navies on our northern frontier meant that each nation

The Rotunda, The University of Virginia

Although Jefferson did not live to see his system of common schools for Virginia worked out, he established a university, which was opened in 1825. Jefferson drew up the plans for the group of buildings, adapting them from the baths of the Roman Emperors, Diocletian and Caracalla, the Temple of Fortuna Virilis, and the central figure of the group, the Rotunda, from the Pantheon.

had confidence in the good faith of its neighbor. It meant that throughout the four thousand miles along which our border touches that of Canada, there was to be neither battleship nor fortress nor sentinel. That far-flung, unguarded frontier was the outward and visible sign that, in spite of occasional differences and disputes, each nation trusted the other. One hundred years of unbroken peace between the United States and Great Britain have since shown how fully that mutual trust is justified.

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CHAPTER XXII

NEW TOOLS AND NEW METHODS OF PRODUCTION

The Industrial Revolution, 1760–1800. The eighteenth century is remarkable for three great revolutions, each of which had a vast influence upon the world's history. The first of these was a political revolution, the second a social revolution, and the third an industrial revolution. In the first, the United States became independent of Great Britain. In the second, the French people swept away the ancient privileges of kings and nobles. In the third, wonderful mechanical inventions and discoveries, followed by the introduction of the factory system, brought about an industrial revolution. Each of these revolutions had a far-reaching influence; and, while the English Industrial Revolution was a quiet and bloodless affair, its permanent results were most important, for it modified the industrial system of the whole world.

Courtesy of the Draper Corporation.

The Hand Loom

Household Methods of Spinning and Weaving. The English Industrial Revolution began about the year 1760 with a wonderful series of inventions in the textile industries. At this time, England's principal industry was cloth-making, carried on by the methods that had been followed for centuries. The cotton and woolen cloth which British ships carried to all parts of the

world was still carded, spun, and woven in the cottages of domestic weavers. This work was done by means of the hand card, the spinning wheel, and the cumbersome old-fashioned loom. The weaving was usually done by the father of the family, aided by his grown sons or by journeymen; while the spinning was carried on by the women and younger children. There was a serious drawback to this method of production; for one weaver could easily use up the product of five or six spinners.

The Spinning Jenny and the Power Loom. One day a master weaver named James Hargreaves hit upon the idea of using a wheel to cause a number of spindles to turn, so as to spin several threads at once. With the help of a neighboring mechanic, he constructed a crude machine named in honor of his wife the "spinning jenny," which could spin eight threads at the same time (1767). Hargreaves could not keep his secret long, and soon jennies spinning twenty or thirty threads were in use. A few years later, Richard Arkwright invented a new machine that could spin much faster than even the spinning jenny. Other improvements followed, and finally the good points of the earlier machines were combined in the famous mule spinner invented by Samuel Crompton, which could spin several thousand threads at once. Before the invention of the spinning machines, weavers could not get enough yarn to supply their looms. Now they could not keep up with the supply of yarn spun by the machines, for there had been no improvement in the old hand loom. This condition was changed in 1784, when an English clergyman, Dr. Edward Cartwright, invented the power loom.

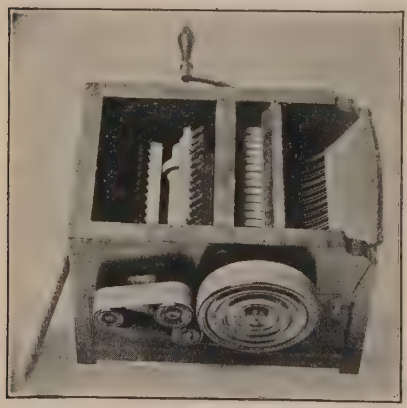
The Steam Engine. The first spinning jennies could be used in the cottage of the weaver, but the later machines were so large and required so much power that human strength would not answer. Horses were used to some extent, then water power, and special buildings were put up along streams where water power was available. The next step was the application of steam, made possible by the inventive genius of James Watt. He began the manufacture of steam engines in 1781, and a few years later the first steam engine was used for power in a cotton mill. About this time Cartwright, who had been using

an ox to drive his power loom, decided to use one of Watt's engines instead. By the end of the eighteenth century, steam was rapidly displacing water power as a motive force.

The Factory System in England. The new machinery spelled the doom of cottage weaving, for the weavers did not have the capital to buy machines, nor were their cottages large enough to hold them. So men who could furnish the capital bought the machines, built mills or factories, and hired spinners and weavers to carry on the work of production. Some weavers tried to continue making cloth in their homes by the old methods, but they found it impossible to compete with machine production. Excited and desperate, they would sometimes invade the factories and break up the machines that were taking away their livelihood. No wonder the poor weavers were bewildered over the new factory system, for it meant a complete change in the methods of production that had existed for ages. It meant that in the future only men with considerable capital could undertake the business of manufacturing; it meant that production must be carried on by large groups of laborers, working regular hours under the direction of the employer or his foreman; it meant the end of the old familiar relations between the master and the journeymen working by his side; it meant the rise of great factory towns, and such a growth of manufactures as had never been dreamed of. The factory system was first introduced in the manufacture of cotton goods, but the new machinery was soon employed in the woolen industry, then in other textile lines, and finally in almost every form of production.

The Factory System in the United States. The Industrial Revolution was not confined to England. Americans were quick to adopt the new tools and new methods of production. The British Parliament passed laws forbidding any one to export the new machines, or plans or models of them; but in spite of this, a spinning jenny was at work in Philadelphia in the year 1775. Soon afterwards the Massachusetts legislature offered a bounty for the invention of carding and spinning machines; and in 1781 a cotton mill was built at Beverly, Massachusetts, which made use of the principles of Arkwright's invention.

It remained for Samuel Slater, the " father of American manufactures," to give America the full benefit of the English inventions. After serving his apprenticeship in a cotton mill, Slater became a general overseer in an English factory that produced cotton machinery. One day he picked up an American newspaper, and read of the bounties being offered in the United States for the introduction of machinery. Slater knew that it was against the law to take the new inventions out of England ; but he perfected his knowledge of cotton machinery so thoroughly that he could construct it from memory. He then emigrated to the United States, and at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, built a mill equipped with seventy-two spindles operating on the Arkwright plan (1790). This year may therefore be regarded as the year of the birth of the factory system in the United States. It was still difficult to get the new machinery, and only four mills were built in the United States during the next fifteen years.

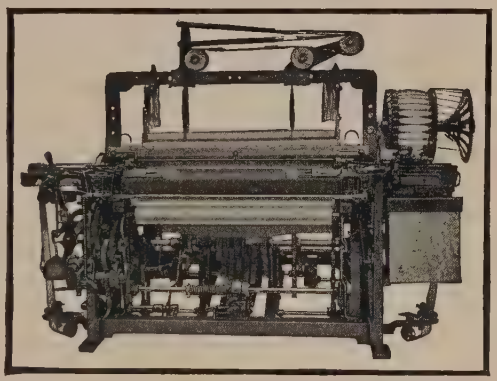


Eli Whitney's Cotton Gin
From a negative in the possession of the National Museum, Washington.

Whitney's Cotton Gin. In 1793 came a great American invention which increased the growth of the factory system all over the world. This was the cotton gin, the invention of Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts who was teaching school in Georgia. The new methods of spinning and weaving yarn had greatly increased the demand for raw cotton. Cotton could be raised easily, but it was difficult to separate the fiber of the plant from the seed. Even a quick hand could not clean more than five or six pounds of cotton in a day. Whitney's gin separated the seed from the cotton by means of cylinders covered with saw teeth. With his machine, a slave could easily clean several hundred pounds of cotton in a day. The result of the invention

was a great increase in the cultivation of cotton throughout the South, and a sudden rise in the value of slave labor. The production of cotton, which amounted to two million pounds in 1791, was forty-eight million pounds in 1801. Before Whitney's invention, several southern states were planning to follow the example of the North, and emancipate their slaves. Now cotton became the great southern staple, slave labor took on a new value, and there was no more talk of emancipation at the South.

The Power Loom and the First Complete Factory, 1814. The Long Embargo, together with the War of 1812, greatly stimulated the growth of American manufactures. Cut off from England, the United States was thrown upon its own resources, and compelled to manufacture many articles formerly imported. Cotton and woolen goods, glass, iron, hardware, and paper were produced in large quantities, so that our country was no longer dependent upon Europe for these necessaries. Up to this time, the United States had not succeeded in obtaining the power loom invented in England many years before. Just before the war began, Francis C. Lowell of Boston visited the cotton factories of England, and learned all that he could about the power loom. Upon his return he built a cotton factory at Waltham, Massachusetts, and equipped it with seventeen hundred spindles operated by water power, besides a power loom built from the knowledge he had gained in England (1814). This was the first complete factory in the modern sense; that is, the first building in which all the processes of manufacturing, from the raw



Courtesy of the Draper Corporation.

A Modern Power Loom

material to the completed product, were carried on under one roof.

The Spread of the Factory System. The new power loom worked a revolution in the textile industries. Factories sprang up along the streams of New England and the Middle States, making use of the abundant water power; factory towns like Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, and Paterson came into existence; and hand labor, as in England, rapidly gave way before the new methods of machine production. The spread of the factory system reduced the price of cotton cloth from forty cents a yard in 1815 to eight cents in 1829. American woolen manufactures were also aided by the new machinery, but the woolen industry could not keep pace with cotton manufacturing because our farmers did not supply enough raw wool. About this time, too, Pennsylvania began to develop her great iron industry. The first iron foundry was established at Pittsburgh in 1803; while thirty years later, that city could boast of eight rolling mills, besides nine foundries and two steel furnaces. The census of 1810 gave Pennsylvania first place as a manufacturing state, followed in order by New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Maryland. In that year, the total value of manufactured products in the United States was nearly two hundred million dollars.

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CHAPTER XXIII

PUSHING THE FRONTIER WESTWARD

The Frontier in Our Early History. The growth of the West was the most important fact in our history during the years just after the War of 1812. This was a continuation of the westward movement that began in colonial days, when the first settlers cut into the forests and pushed back the Indians. There was a frontier in those days, but it lay close to the Atlantic coast. By 1750 this western frontier was advancing toward the Allegheny Mountains. During the ten years following the Revolution, thousands of settlers crossed the mountains, and laid the foundations of the future states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. In Jefferson's administration came the annexation of Louisiana, which gave us the Rocky Mountains instead of the Mississippi River as our western boundary. The explorations of Lewis and Clark in the Northwest, and of Pike in the Southwest, helped to open up this vast territory to settlement. From the journal of Lewis and Clark, the country learned of the wonderful resources of the new West; and it only needed a period of hard times in the East to send thousands of men westward in search of new homes.

The Westward Movement after 1812. The Embargo Act and the War of 1812 practically destroyed American commerce, and caused a period of severe hard times in all the seaboard states. With the return of peace, a new westward movement began. Farmers in debt and laborers out of work sold out for what they could get, and set out to find new homes along the Great Lakes or on the eastern slope of the Mississippi Valley. Harrison's victory over the Indians at Tippecanoe, followed by the cession of their lands, opened up thousands of fertile acres in Indiana and Illinois to men who had been tilling the stony

hillsides of New England. By his conquest of the Creek Indians in Alabama, Andrew Jackson did for the Southwest what Harrison had done for the Northwest; for Jackson's victories opened up the rich cotton lands of the Gulf to sturdy pioneers from Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas.

Immigration from Europe. The western lands were cheap as well as fertile. Until 1820 they sold at $2 an acre, only one fourth of which had to be paid in cash; while after that year the price was $1.25 an acre, cash. To thousands of Europeans,

Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

Astoria, 1813

This fur-trading post and fort was located on the present site of Astoria, Oregon.

as well as to our own people, these cheap lands beckoned like the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. The close of the Napoleonic wars left Europe staggering under an enormous burden of debt and taxes. Beginning about 1815, thousands of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Germans came to our shores to swell the stream of settlers pouring across the Alleghenies.

As these men traveled westward through the rich farming regions of Pennsylvania and Ohio, they were amazed at the prosperity which they saw. "This be a main queer country," said a Yorkshireman who with his family was on his way to

Zanesville, Ohio. "This be a main queer country, for I have asked the laboring folks all along the road how many meals they eat in a day, and they all said three and sometimes four, if they wanted them. We have but two at home, and they are scanty enough. And only think, sir, many of these people asked me to eat and drink with them. We can't do it in Yorkshire, sir, for we have not enough for ourselves."

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A Westward Caravan

The broad-wheeled Conestoga wagon, named for the Pennsylvania town of its manufacture, provided the best method of transporting over the prairies the women and children and the scanty household goods. The white covering, however, made an excellent target for the Indians.

"**Old America Seems to be Breaking up.**" Every section of the Union was helping to swell the never-ending westward stream. One of the most popular routes to the West was the newly built National Road across Pennsylvania. "Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward," wrote Morris Birkbeck as he passed along this road in 1817. "We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us. . . . A

small wagon (so light that you might almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils, and provisions, and a swarm of young citizens) — with two small horses, and sometimes a cow or two, comprises their all; excepting a little store of hard-earned cash for the land office of the district, where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one fourth of the purchase money. The wagon has a tilt, or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or the weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party. . . . A cart and single horse frequently affords the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and pack-saddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects, and his wife follows, barefooted."

Lincoln's Birthplace

A New Cotton Kingdom. While the Northwest was changing from a wilderness to a land of farmers and town builders, the Southwest was fast becoming a great cotton-raising section. A traveler on his way from Nashville to Georgia in 1817 speaks of the astonishing number of people he met from the Carolinas and Georgia, bound for the cotton lands of Alabama. He counted over two hundred wagons and three thousand people, driving immense herds of cattle and droves of hogs. This emigration was the result of Whitney's gin, which made profitable the cultivation of the short-fiber cotton of the uplands.

By 1834 the new Southwest had outstripped the old South in the production of its chief staple. The worn-out lands of the seaboard could not compete successfully with the cheap and fertile lands of the Gulf Basin. The result was disastrous to the planters of the tidewater region. It was said that the larger Virginia plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves, did

not yield two per cent profit on the capital invested. So many proprietors were in debt that Randolph prophesied the time would come when the masters would run away from their slaves, and be advertised by them in the public papers. In his declining years, Jefferson was in such need of money that a public subscription was taken up for his benefit. Madison, too, was obliged to sell much of his land; while Monroe at the close of his term of office found himself financially ruined, and went to live with his son-in-law in New York City.

Lincoln's Family Moves to Indiana. The story of Abraham Lincoln and of Jefferson Davis illustrates the westward movement in these years. Abraham Lincoln was born in a barren, hilly region of Kentucky in 1809. Jefferson Davis was born near Lincoln's home one year earlier. When Lincoln was a boy of seven, his father, a poor carpenter, took his family across the Ohio River and settled in southern Indiana. For over a year the Lincoln family lived in a "half-faced camp" or shed closed on three sides, with the fourth left open to the weather. The young Lincoln watched his father hew out a clearing in the midst of the forest, and plant his first crop of Indian corn between the stumps. The half-faced camp gave way to a one-room log cabin, which for some years had neither floor, door, nor windows. It was before the fireside of this rude cabin that Lincoln read the few books which he was able to lay hands on. A well-known story tells how he once walked six miles to obtain a copy of a coveted English grammar; and a familiar picture of the young Lincoln shows him lying before the fireside of the rude cabin, writing and working out sums on the wooden shovel which he could shave off whenever he needed a new tablet.

Abraham Lincoln in Illinois. By the year 1830 Lincoln had grown into a strapping youth, six feet four inches in height, who could sink his ax deeper into a tree than any man of the neighborhood. About this time his father, like many another restless pioneer, pushed westward again, this time into the Sangamon country of Illinois. Here Lincoln became in turn storekeeper, postmaster, road surveyor, lawyer, member of the

state legislature, and Congressman. In each position his sterling honesty won the confidence of all who knew him.

A second striking characteristic of Lincoln was his close sympathetic touch with the people about him. He understood and loved the people of his neighborhood, knew how they thought and felt on the questions of the day. At first the public which he understood so well included only his own frontier settlement; then it widened to include the state of Illinois, and finally the people of the entire North. In his youth, Lincoln seemed not much superior to his rude surroundings, save in his zeal for self-improvement. But Lincoln grew as the frontier grew, only faster; and just as the rude frontier cabins and stump-covered acres were supplanted by comfortable homes and well-tilled farms, so the youthful Lincoln of the frontier grew into the sturdy, honest, always sympathetic man, capable of leading our nation through the greatest crisis in its history.

Life on a Southern Plantation. The father of Jefferson Davis took his family toward the Southwest, moving first to Louisiana, then into Mississippi, where the family lived on a typical southern plantation. The plantation was really a little world in itself, supplying most of its own needs. Here was made much of the clothing for the slaves, the work of spinning and weaving being carried on under the direction of the mistress of the plantation. Near the mansion house, itself often situated in the midst of a grove of stately oaks, were the millhouse, the blacksmith's forge, and the carpenter shop. To the rear stood the overseer's house, and beyond that a group of cabins for the slaves. Behind each little cabin was a garden plot where the slave might raise fowls and vegetables for himself. The field hands were divided into classes according to their physical strength, the children and women doing the work of "half-hands," or "quarter-hands," at least.

A Northerner who visited one of the large plantations in Mississippi gives us an interesting account of what he saw: "The whole plantation, including the swamp land around it, covered several square miles. It was four miles from the settlement to the nearest neighbor's house. There were between thirteen and

fourteen hundred acres under cultivation with cotton, corn, and other hoed crops, and two hundred hogs running at large in the swamp. . . . There were one hundred and thirty-five slaves, big and little, of which sixty-seven went to field regularly — equal, the overseer thought, to fully sixty prime hands. . . . We found in the field thirty plows, moving together, turning the

A South Carolina Estate

The low corridor at the left connects the house with the kitchens and servants' quarters.

Notice the streamers of Spanish moss hanging from the trees.

earth from the cotton plants, and from thirty to forty slaves at work with the hoe, the latter mainly women.

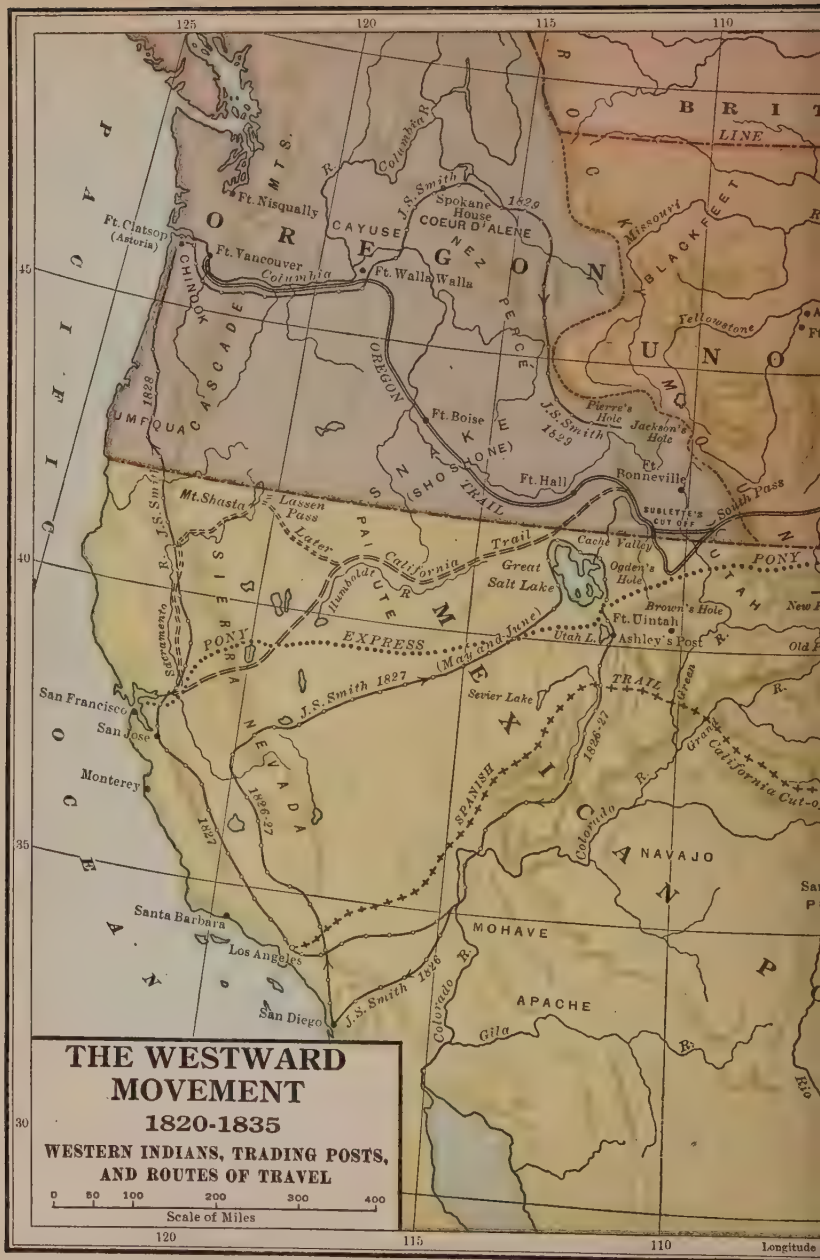
"I asked at what time they began to work in the morning. 'Well, I don't never start my niggers 'fore daylight, 'less 'tis in pickin' time, then maybe I get 'em out a quarter of an hour before. But I keep 'em right smart to work through the day.' He showed an evident pride in the vigilance of his driver, and called my attention to the large area of ground already hoed over that morning; well hoed, too, as he said. 'At what time do they eat?' I asked. They ate 'their snacks' in their cabins, he said, before they came out in the morning; then at twelve

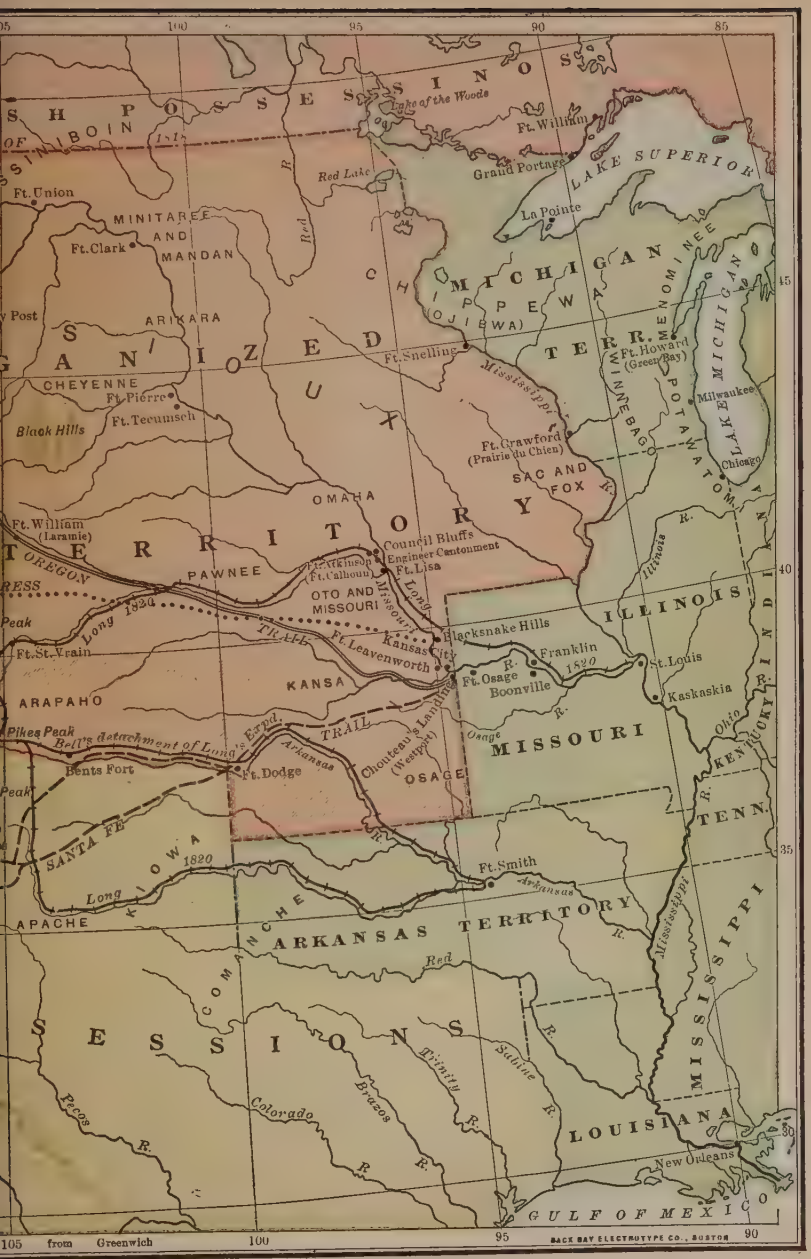
o'clock their dinner was brought to them in a cart — one cart for the plow-gang and one for the hoe-gang. . . . All worked as late as they could see to work well, and had no more food nor rest until they returned to their cabins. At half-past nine o'clock, the drivers blew a horn, and at ten visited every cabin to see that its occupants were at rest, and not lurking about and spending their strength in fooleries, and that the fires were safe."

How the Frontier was Governed. Congress adopted a broad and liberal policy in governing its western territories, modeled on the plan of the famous Ordinance of 1787. The settlers were granted local self-government, and as soon as the population was large enough, the territory was admitted to statehood.

In all, twenty-nine of our forty-eight states have been first organized and governed as territories. Under the plan usually followed, executive power in the territory is vested in a governor, appointed by the President of the United States. The powers of this governor are similar to those of the governor of a state, but he is directly responsible to the President. The territorial legislature consists of two houses, the members of which are elected by the voters. Judicial power is vested in a supreme and several district courts, the judges being appointed by the President. Each territory is permitted to send a delegate to the House of Representatives. When the people of a territory are ready to ask for statehood, they elect members of a convention to draw up a state constitution. This constitution is then submitted to Congress for approval, as well as to the voters of the territory. Congress may then pass a resolution admitting the new state to the Union.

Local Government in the Territories. The settlers in the West soon developed two important institutions: first, a system of local government like the one they had left in the states; and second — in the northern territories — a district school system like that of New England. The plan of local government adopted throughout the Northwest was the county-township plan, like that of Pennsylvania; while the Southwest adopted the county plan universal throughout the old South. Under the


125
120
115
110
45
40
35
30
Longitude
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
UTAH
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
BRITISH
ROCKY MTS.
Columbia R.
Ft. Nisqually
Ft. Clatsop (Astoria)
Ft. Vancouver
Columbia
CHINOOK
CAYUSE
NEZ PERCE
Spokane House
1829
J.S. Smith
COEUR D'ALENE
Ft. Walla Walla
Missouri
BLACKFEET
Yellowstone
CASCADE
UMFQUA
1828
OREGON
Ft. Boise
J.S. Smith 1829
Pierre's Hole
Jackson's Hole
Ft. Bonneville
Ft. Hall
SNAKE (SHOSHONE)
TRAIL
SUBLETTE'S CUT OFF
South Pass
Mt. Shasta
Lassen Pass
Lassen's Trail
Sacramento R.
J.S. Smith
SIERRA NEVADA
PAIUTE
California Trail
Humboldt R.
Great Salt Lake
Cache Valley
Ogden's Hole
Brown's Hole
Ft. Uintah
Ashley's Post
PONY EXPRESS (March and June)
Utah L.
Old
New
San Francisco
San Jose
Monterey
Sevier Lake
J.S. Smith 1827
TRAIL
Green R.
Grand
California Cut-o
1826-27
SPANISH
Colorado R.
NAVAJO
Santa Barbara
Los Angeles
San Diego
J.S. Smith 1826
MOHAVE
APACHE
Gila R.
Rio
THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT
1820-1835
WESTERN INDIANS, TRADING POSTS, AND ROUTES OF TRAVEL
0 50 100 200 300 400
Scale of Miles

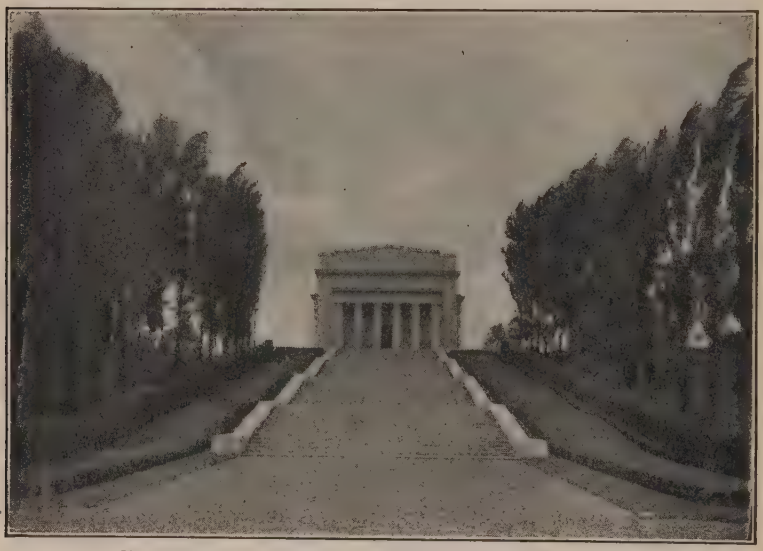

105
100
95
90
85
S I O U X
S H O S H O N E S
Lake of the Woods
Ft. William
Grand Portage
LAKE SUPERIOR
Red Lake
Red R.
Ft. Union
MINITAREE AND MANDAN
Ft. Clark
La Pointe
CHIPPEWA (OJIBWA)
MICHIGAN
MENOMINEE
MICHIGAN
Post
ARIKARA
Ft. Snelling
Mississippi R.
Ft. Howard (Green Bay)
WINNEBAGO
POTAWATOMI
LAKE MICHIGAN
Milwaukee
CHEYENNE
Ft. Pierre
Ft. Tecumseh
Black Hills
Ft. Crawford (Prairie du Chien)
Chicago
SAC AND FOX
OMAHA
Ft. William (Laramie)
OREGON
Council Bluffs
Engineer Cantonment
Ft. Lisa
PAWNEE
Ft. Atkinson (Ft. Calhoun)
OTO AND MISSOURI
Illinois R.
ILLINOIS
Peak
Long 1820
Missouri R.
Blacksnake Hills
Ft. St. Vrain
Ft. Atkinson
Ft. Leavenworth
Kansas City
Franklin
1820
St. Louis
KANSA
Ft. Osage
Boonville
Kaskaskia
ARAPAHO
Pikes Peak
Bell's detachment of Long's Exped.
Arkansas R.
TRAIL
Chouteau's Landing (Westport)
Osage R.
MISSOURI
Ohio R.
KENTUCKY
Bents Fort
Ft. Dodge
OSAGE
TENN.
SANTA FE
1820
Long
Ft. Smith
APACHE
KIOWA
COMANCHE
ARKANSAS TERRITORY
Red R.
Mississippi R.
MISSISSIPPI
SESSIONS
Trinity R.
Sabine R.
Pecos R.
Colorado R.
Brazos R.
LOUISIANA
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
105
from Greenwich
100
95
90
BACK BAY ELECTROTYPE CO., BOSTON

county-township plan of the Northwest, the work of local government is divided between the county and its smaller districts called townships. The county builds the courthouse for the administration of justice and for the offices of the county clerk, treasurer, and recorder; elects a sheriff and prosecuting attorney to enforce the laws; constructs bridges and other public works; and collects the taxes necessary for the work of local government. The township maintains the schools, looks after road building, elects justices of the peace, and cares for the poor.

The District School System. The pioneers in the Northwest also took with them the district school system for which New England is famous. The western lands had been surveyed and divided into small districts called townships, each six miles square. When the settlers moved into the township, they organized it into a school district, electing trustees to employ a teacher and manage school affairs. Several one-room schoolhouses were usually built, for a school located near the center of the township would be too far away for many of the children. So at each crossroads was built the little red schoolhouse that has played such a prominent part in our history. The district school brought elementary education within easy reach of every child, and proved an important factor in our national progress.

Slavery Becomes a Sectional Question. Slavery existed in all of the states in 1776, but during the next twenty years a movement for emancipation swept over the entire North. Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts led the way, and by the year 1804 all of the northern states except Delaware had either abolished slavery outright, or provided for gradual emancipation. South of Mason and Dixon's line there were men like Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, who wished to abolish slavery. But emancipation was a difficult problem at the South, for there were many more slaves than at the North, and the Southerners could not decide what to do with the negroes if they were made free. Then came the invention of Whitney's cotton gin (1793), which changed the whole situation. Slaves became

so valuable that the planters were unwilling to think of setting them free. So the South accepted slavery as a permanent institution at the very time that the northern states decided to free their slaves. Henceforth the country was to be made up of a free and a slave section; each felt that its interests were separate and distinct, and thus began the opposition between the North and the South which finally led to secession and civil war.



The Lincoln Memorial at Hodgenville, Kentucky

The log cabin in which Lincoln was born is included within this memorial building, erected from money subscribed by the school children of the United States.

Congress and Slavery. Meantime, the national government had passed several important measures on the subject of slavery. In organizing the Northwest Territory (1787), the Congress of the Confederation prohibited slavery throughout this entire region. Then, shortly after the constitution was adopted, Congress passed the first Fugitive Slave Law (1793). This provided, as the constitution itself suggested, for the return of escaping slaves to their masters. By a later act, Congress forbade the importation of slaves into the United States after

January 1, 1808. Although this law was frequently violated by smugglers, the worst evils of the African slave trade were at an end.

The Westward Movement and Slavery. As a result of the westward movement, five new states were added to the Union between 1812 and 1819. These were Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama at the South, Indiana and Illinois in the Northwest. These three southern states doubled their population between 1810 and 1820, while in the same decade, Indiana and Illinois each multiplied its population by five. The three states at the South came in as slave states, Indiana and Illinois as free states. Missouri, too, was growing rapidly, trebling its population between 1810 and 1820. In this territory the two streams of migration met, free farmers from the North and slaveholding planters from the South. The question whether Missouri should enter the Union as a free or as a slave state was soon to arouse the whole country to the fact that slavery had become a sectional question; that is, one on which North and South held opposite views. Men like Lincoln who grew up in the atmosphere of freedom were beginning to regard slavery as a great evil, one which might be endured at the South, but must not be extended into the West. On the other hand, planters like Davis, reared in the cotton kingdom, believed just as firmly that the extension of the slave system was vital to the welfare of the South.

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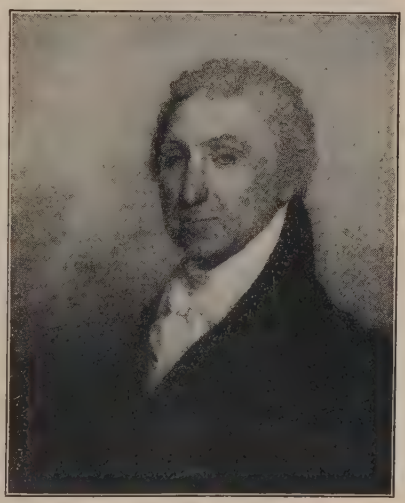
The Hermitage, Nashville

General Jackson was one of the pioneers in Tennessee. He had a genius for farming, and his plantation made him the wealthiest man in that section. He built "The Hermitage" in 1819 of brick made on the plantation.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

The Era of Good Feeling. In March, 1817, Madison was succeeded as chief executive by his Secretary of State, James Monroe, the fourth distinguished Virginian chosen to that high office. Following sixteen years of bitter political strife, now came a period of calm. The Federalist party cast only thirty-four electoral votes against Monroe in 1816; while four years later, party opposition disappeared completely, and Monroe received every electoral vote save one. It seemed to be an "Era of Good Feeling," as the Boston *Centinel* said; and by this name Monroe's administration has ever since been known.



James Monroe

From the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

Following the example of Washington, who had made long trips through different sections of the country, Monroe started on a tour of New England and the Middle States, afterwards traveling west as far as Detroit. Everywhere the President was received with enthusiastic welcome. The three months' journey through the northern states made Monroe as popular in that section as he was at the South. The new President deserved the

confidence and esteem of his countrymen. Intellectually, he was hardly the equal of Jefferson or Madison; but a man more honest or sincere never sat in the presidential chair. As Jefferson said, Monroe was "a man whose soul might be turned inside out without discovering a blemish to the world."

The Purchase of Florida, 1819. As special envoy to France, Monroe had helped bring about our first great expansion, the purchase of Louisiana. Now, as President, he was to achieve the second step, the purchase of Florida. For years the United States had coveted this Spanish territory which shut off Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia from their natural outlet to the Gulf. Then, too, Spain's weak rule made her colony a constant menace to our settlers in the Southwest. Florida was the haven of smugglers and pirates, of runaway slaves and marauding Indians. From their safe refuge in the Florida swamps, these lawless bands would sally forth to plunder and massacre the white settlers of Georgia. The worst outrages were the work of the Seminoles, a wandering band of Creek Indians. To end these raids, General Andrew Jackson was ordered to take the field. Jackson believed in promptness and thoroughness. Marching his army into Florida, he defeated the Seminoles, captured the Spanish forts at St. Marks and Pensacola, and hanged two British subjects who had aided the Indians.

Our First Stars and Stripes

Adopted by Act of Congress June 14, 1777, and raised by John Paul Jones on the *Ranger* in Portsmouth harbor, July 4, 1777.

With the admission of Vermont and Kentucky in 1791 and 1792, Congress authorized the flag to contain fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. This was the national flag for 23 years, and inspired the "Star-Spangled Banner."

Spain protested strongly against this invasion of her territory, but at last decided to sell what she knew must sooner or later slip out of her hands. So in 1819 Spain ceded Florida to the United States for $5,000,000. The treaty also settled our long dispute over the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. We yielded to Spain our claim to Texas, and accepted

the Sabine River instead of the Rio Grande as our southwestern boundary. In return, Spain ceded to the United States her claims on the Pacific coast north of the parallel of 42°, thus strengthening our title to the Oregon country.

Revolt of the Spanish-American Colonies. The loss of Florida was not Spain's only misfortune. One by one, the Spanish colonies in Central and South America declared their independence of the fast-crumbling empire. Spain was too weak to conquer her rebellious colonies; they were lost to her forever unless the great powers of Europe should come to her aid. For a time, it seemed as if this very thing might happen. The monarchs of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France had united in what they called a Holy Alliance, which was really a league to support the absolute power of kings, and to crush any revolt on the part of the people.

Our Flag Adopted July 4, 1818

The Act of 1794 authorizing a star and a stripe for each new state became embarrassing, and Congress passed the law requiring the original thirteen stripes to be restored, but an additional star to be added for each state. In this form the flag has remained. The Stars and Stripes were not officially carried by troops in battle until the Mexican War.

There was good reason to believe that the countries forming the Holy Alliance were about to send an army to South America to restore Spanish rule, or perhaps to secure new colonies for themselves. Such an attack would be a matter of vital concern to the United States. Our country was interested in the independence of the Spanish colonies for two reasons, one a business reason, the other a matter of sentiment. The independence of these colonies would give our country as well as the rest of the world an opportunity to trade with them, whereas Spain's colonial system reserved all of this trade to herself. Moreover, the struggle of the Spanish-American colonists appealed strongly to our liberty-loving people; for they seemed to be fighting for the very principles of our own Revolution. In response to popular sentiment, Congress and the President had recognized

the independence of the South American countries in 1822. Would it not be dangerous to our own freedom if, after this recognition, we were to permit the combined armies of Europe to crush the new republics?

Nor was the situation less serious on our own continent. The czar of Russia had just issued a decree claiming the territory along the Pacific coast as far south as the fifty-first parallel. This struck at our claim to the Oregon country, then held in joint occupation by the United States and Great Britain. By the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, we had removed two dangerous neighbors from our borders. A new menace now confronted us in Russia's southward march from Alaska.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823. Clearly, the time had come for the United States to take a decided stand on the question of European interference in American affairs. Great Britain had held aloof from the Holy Alliance. She was not in sympathy with absolute government, and her commerce would benefit by a free South America. Her minister of foreign affairs, George Canning, now proposed that Great Britain and the United States should unite in a declaration that we would not permit an attack upon the new republics. But John Quincy Adams, our Secretary of State, advised President Monroe that the United States should act alone on what was clearly an American question. The President decided to adopt this course, and in his famous message to Congress on December 2, 1823, announced to the world the famous Monroe Doctrine:

(1) As heretofore, the United States "will not interfere in the internal concerns" of any European power.

(2) European governments must not meddle in American affairs or attempt the conquest of the young republics.

(3) European nations must not attempt to set up any new colonies on either American continent.

Thus the "Monroe Doctrine" is really a declaration of home rule — America for the Americans. Russia heeded the warning, and by a treaty signed in 1824, gave up her claim to the territory south of the parallel 54° 40′. Nor did the Holy Alliance venture to attack the countries of South America at the

risk of war with the United States. From Monroe's day to the present, the doctrine which bears his name has been a shield for the liberties of the western world.

The Sectional Question of Slavery. The "era of good feeling" did not last long, for in 1819 a bitter dispute arose between the North and the South over the admission of Missouri. This territory was a part of the Louisiana Purchase; and except Louisiana itself, it was the first state to be formed within the vast area purchased from France. Peopled largely by Southerners who had migrated with their slaves, Missouri was seeking admission to the Union as a slave state. Northern members of Congress opposed the request, while a united South favored it. By this time, slavery had been abolished throughout the North, where the climate and industrial life combined to make it unprofitable. The ignorant slave could not operate New England's machinery; the Ordinance of 1787 excluded slavery from the Northwest; and so it came about that by 1804, the Ohio River marked the boundary between freedom and slavery.

At the South, different conditions prevailed. The warm, moist climate was favorable to African labor. On the large cotton, rice, and tobacco plantations many hands rather than skill seemed necessary to production. So slavery became more and more essential to the industry of the South. In Revolutionary days, slavery was strongly condemned by southern leaders; and for a time it seemed as if gradual emancipation might occur. Then came Whitney's invention of the cotton gin (1793), which made profitable the raising of short-fiber cotton, and extended the area of cotton production from the seaboard far back into the interior. This invention fastened slavery upon the South. "King Cotton" became supreme; the demand for cotton increased the demand for slaves, and above all, for more slave territory. Southern statesmen still admitted that slavery was an evil; but they claimed that it was necessary to the prosperity of their section, and demanded that the institution should be allowed to spread westward.

The Missouri Compromise, 1820. When Missouri was seeking admission, the eleven states north of Maryland and the Ohio River were free, while south of that line were eleven slave states.

North and South were thus equally balanced in the Senate, where each state has two votes. But in the House of Representatives, the North outvoted the South, having 105 members against 81. The admission of Missouri as a slave state would give the South control of the Senate, and make certain the defeat of any anti-slavery measure that the House of Representatives might pass. The Missouri question was debated long and bitterly, but at last Congress found a way out of the difficulty. Just at this time Maine, until then a part of Massachusetts, was seeking admission as a free state. The Senate refused to admit Maine as a free state unless Missouri should come in as a slave state. Finally in 1820 Congress passed the famous Missouri Compromise as a means of ending the dispute. By the terms of this compromise:

(1) Maine was to be admitted as a free state.

(2) Missouri was to come in as a slave state.

(3) Slavery was forever prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the parallel 36° 30′ (the southern boundary of Missouri).

Results of the Compromise. Men hoped that by this compromise the slavery dispute would be settled for all time; but farsighted statesmen like Jefferson and Adams thought otherwise. "This momentous question," wrote Jefferson, "like a fire bell in the night, awakened me and filled me with terror. . . . It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence." To John Quincy Adams, the slavery dispute was but the "title page to a great tragic volume." While the Missouri Compromise secured a kind of peace between tne two sections for the next thirty years, it did not by any means put an end to the agitation of the slavery issue. At the time, the measure was regarded as a victory for the South, but it was really a permanent gain for the North. The compromise left only Missouri and Arkansas open to slavery; while freedom won the much larger region north of 36° 30′. Moreover, this measure, like the Northwest Ordinance, set a precedent in favor of the power of Congress to control slavery in the territories. The power of Congress to do this was after-

The United States in 1820

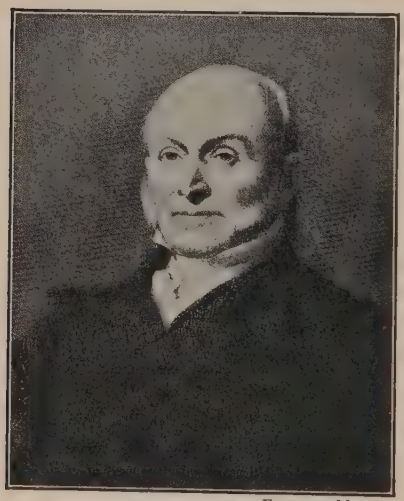
Showing the eleven free and eleven slave states, before the admission of Maine and Missouri, and the disposition of the territories.

wards denied by the Southerners, and just before the Civil War the Supreme Court sustained their position.

A Second Compromise Proves Necessary. In the fall of 1820, the Missouri question in a new form returned to vex Congress. The constitution adopted by Missouri prohibited free negroes from entering the state. At once the controversy broke out anew, even more bitter than in the previous session. Northern members declared that the clause concerning free negroes was in direct contradiction to the provision in the federal constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." The House twice refused to pass the bill admitting Missouri under her proposed constitution; meantime, southern Congressmen charged the North with bad faith in having secured the admission of Maine, while still opposing the admission of Missouri. A second compromise suggested by Henry Clay was finally adopted by the joint committee of the Senate and House. This provided for the

admission of Missouri on condition that the state should agree never to pass a law enforcing the objectionable clause of her constitution. Missouri promptly accepted this condition, and was admitted as the twenty-fourth state in August, 1821.

Lafayette's Visit to the United States. Forty years had elapsed since General Lafayette's return to his native France at the close of the American Revolution. In 1824, the aged veteran was persuaded to revisit the country he had so nobly served. Lafayette was the honored guest of the nation for thirteen months, visiting the old battlefields, greeting his few surviving comrades of the Revolution, everywhere receiving the homage of a grateful people. At Mount Vernon, Lafayette visited the tomb of Washington, whom he had loved as a father. At Boston, he was the guest of honor at the laying of the cornerstone of Bunker Hill monument, just fifty years after that famous battle. Every one applauded when Congress voted General Lafayette a gift of $200,000, together with a township of public land, in recognition of his gallant services. His visit ended, Lafayette returned to France in the ship *Brandywine*, named in honor of the battle in which he had fought so well.



From an old print.

John Quincy Adams

The Presidential Election of 1824. At the close of Monroe's second term, there was only one political party, the Republican; for the Federalist party had ceased to exist, and no new party had yet been formed to take its place. So the presidential contest of 1824 was a "free-for-all" race between four prominent leaders, rather than a contest between political parties. New England's candidate was John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State;

Virginia favored Georgia's favorite son, William Crawford; while Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was the idol of the Southwest, and divided with Henry Clay of Kentucky the support of the West.

When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that none of the four candidates had a majority; and for the second time in our history the choice of a President was made by the House of Representatives. The constitution provides that the House shall choose from the three candidates having the highest number of electoral votes. This put Clay, who was fourth, out of the race; he promptly decided to support Adams, and the House chose him as President. More men had voted for Jackson than for any other candidate; and his disappointed friends claimed that the election of Adams had defeated the "will of the people." When President Adams appointed Clay as his Secretary of State, their disappointment changed to rage. They openly charged that Adams had secured the presidency by a corrupt bargain, that he had promised this Cabinet appointment in return for the votes of Clay's followers. Jackson called Clay "the Judas of the West." There had been no bargain, but the false charge did much to destroy confidence in the new administration.

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Ashland, Lexington, Kentucky

Henry Clay built this home in 1803 on a large estate noted for its race horses and blooded stock. His generosity and the expense of presidential campaigns brought Clay almost to financial ruin, but his friends and sympathizers forced him to accept an anonymous gift of money sufficient to prevent bankruptcy.

CHAPTER XXV

NEW SYSTEMS OF TRANSPORTATION

Roads in Colonial Days. One writer has said that the civilization of a country can be measured by the excellence of its roads. Judged by this standard, our country would have made a poor showing at the close of the Revolution. There was too much other work to be done for the colonists to spend many hours in road building. The early roads were generally Indian trails, widened first to form a bridle path, later a wagon road. If the trail ran through a swamp, trees would be felled and a " corduroy " road built by laying the trunks side by side. With the advent of the sawmill came the plank roads; and these in turn were followed by the pikes, or roads covered with broken stone. The crude roads of early days were built by the local governments, — by the towns in New England, the townships in the Middle states, and the counties at the South.

Turnpikes — The National Road. After the Revolution, the increase in population and trade led to a demand for better roads than these local governments could build. The states soon began to charter " turnpike " companies, which were authorized to construct roads and to collect charges or tolls from the people who used them. At the points where tolls were collected, a gate was placed across the road. This gate consisted of a pole armed with pikes, so hung as to turn upon a post; hence the toll road was called a turnpike. Many turnpikes were built during the period from 1790 to 1812, especially in New England and the Middle states.

The most celebrated turnpike was not built by a private company, but by the United States government itself. This " National Pike " or Cumberland Road was begun during Jefferson's administration, in order to open up the public lands in Ohio and the West. Starting at Cumberland, Maryland, the

National Road ran westward, following for part of the distance Braddock's old military route, until it reached the Ohio River at Wheeling, West Virginia. Along this pike thousands of westbound settlers traveled by stagecoach or in large canvas-covered wagons, often drawn by eight or ten horses. On reaching the Ohio River, the "movers" usually boarded a steamboat for their future homes in the West. The National Road was gradually extended through Columbus, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana, until finally it came to an end at Vandalia, Illinois. By this time (1838) the railroad had been introduced, and travelers preferred this quicker and cheaper means of transportation.

The Route of the National Road, 1812–1840

The Cumberland Road to Wheeling was completed in 1820; from Wheeling to Columbus, 1835; from Columbus to Terre Haute, 1840. The road from Terre Haute to Vandalia had been finished in 1836.

River Trade and the Steamboat. The invention of the steamboat in 1807, and its introduction on the Ohio four years later, made the rivers more important highways of commerce than ever before. After many attempts and failures, Robert Fulton at last solved the problem of applying steam to boats as a motive power. Fulton named his steamboat the *Clermont*, but the people who gathered at New York to witness its trial trip up the Hudson called it *Fulton's Folly*. Their ridicule gave way to applause when the *Clermont* steamed up to Albany, making the journey of one hundred and fifty miles in thirty-two hours.

This invention was of vast importance in the peopling of the West. Up to this time, the commerce between New Orleans and the upper country had been carried in flatboats or barges. In 1811 the first steamboat passed down the Mississippi from Pittsburgh to New Orleans; and seven years later, the *Walk-*

in-the-Water made a voyage from Buffalo to Detroit. The great network of western rivers and lakes was soon covered with steam-driven craft that could defy wind and current. The cumbersome flatboat used to make the trip from Louisville to New Orleans in from thirty to forty days, while the return trip against the swift current took at least ninety days. The steamboat with its powerful paddle wheels made the trip down the river in seven days, the return trip in sixteen days.

© *Underwood and Underwood.*

The *Clermont*

The exact reproduction of Fulton's *Clermont* passing the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument, New York City, in the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, 1909.

Even in the days of the flatboat, the trade on the Mississippi and its tributaries was large; with the coming of the steamboat, that trade increased by leaps and bounds. Towns like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and above all New Orleans, grew steadily in population. By 1825 the steamboat had passed all competitors, and was carrying sixty per cent of the freight to New Orleans. The spread of the cotton region in the Southwest increased the demand for food products just at the time when the steamboat made it possible for the West to supply this demand. Thus by giving the frontier settlers access to the markets of the

South and the East, the steamboat promoted the westward movement.

Opening of the Erie Canal, 1825. As early as 1772, George Washington pointed out the benefits that would result from building canals and improving our system of river transportation. He was especially anxious to have the Atlantic coast section connected by a waterway with the region west of the Allegheny Mountains. Not until twenty-six years after Washington's death was this finally accomplished. It was a great day for New York state and for the entire country when Governor Clinton dedicated the Erie Canal, connecting the Hudson River near Albany with Lake Erie at Buffalo. The canal followed the Mohawk Valley to Rome, New York, and entered Lake Erie by the Tonawanda and Niagara rivers. It was three hundred and sixty-three miles long, and had cost the state of New York nearly eight million dollars.

The Erie Canal, Rochester, N. Y.

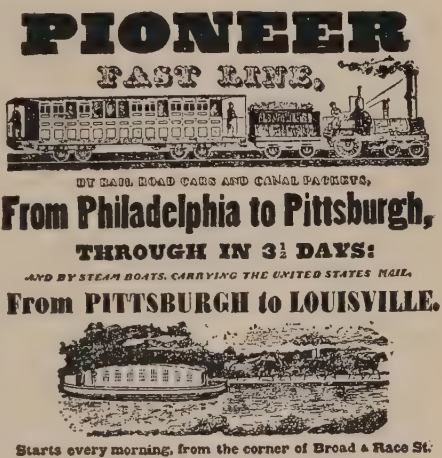
The water was drained off in winter, and the boats tied to the towpath as shown here, at the right.

In 1825 the canal was but 42 feet wide and 4 feet deep, sufficient to float a barge or a house boat carrying 30 tons of freight.

A New Highway for Commerce. The produce of the West at once poured down this new channel to the ocean. Before the canal was built, it cost $100, and required twenty days, to transport a ton of wheat from Buffalo to New York City. The canal reduced the cost to $20, and the time to eight days. Within a year, thousands of boats laden with wheat, lumber, furs, and other products of the West, passed down this highway to the markets of the Atlantic seaboard. The canal also made it easy for the western settler to get the products of the East. It was no

uncommon sight to see fifty boats starting from Albany day after day, carrying salt, furniture, farming tools, and other supplies for the western pioneer.

Thus the new highway formed a bond of union between the West and the East. It helped to people the West, which could now count on markets and communication with the East. The state of New York was soon reaping a rich harvest of trade. Wherever the canal touched a waterway, a thriving city sprang up, as at Syracuse, Rochester, and Utica. The terminals of the canal, Buffalo and Albany, grew still more rapidly. Most important of all, the opening of this waterway made New York City the commercial center of the United States.


PIONEER
FAST LINE,
BY RAIL ROAD CARS AND CANAL PACKETS,
From Philadelphia to Pittsburgh,
THROUGH IN 3½ DAYS:
AND BY STEAM BOATS, CARRYING THE UNITED STATES MAIL,
From PITTSBURGH to LOUISVILLE.
Starts every morning, from the corner of Broad & Race St.

A Railroad Poster, 1837

Other States Construct Canals. Philadelphia feared that the opening of the Erie Canal would mean the loss of her western trade. So the state of Pennsylvania began to construct a series of canals from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, finally completed in 1834. Leaving Philadelphia, the journey to the Susquehanna River was made by a horse railroad; then by a canal along the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers to Hollidaysburg, and over the mountains by the Allegheny Portage Railroad to Johnstown; thence by canal to Pittsburgh.

Other states hastened to follow the example of New York and Pennsylvania. The Miami Canal was built from Cincinnati to Dayton, and the Ohio Canal connected Lake Erie with the Ohio River along the route first suggested by Washington. Indiana joined hands with Ohio to construct the Wabash and

Transportation Competition for the Western Trade

Showing the routes of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the Pennsylvania Canal, and the Erie Canal. The Erie Canal system, with its water-level route, secured the larger share of western trade.

Erie Canal. So vigorously was the work carried on that, by 1830, fourteen hundred miles of canals had been built and two thousand miles were under construction. Indeed, many states and cities invested too heavily in these enterprises. Canal building was costly, the returns from tolls were slow and uncertain. Then, too, a dangerous competitor of the canals had already made its appearance.

The Steam Railroad. The year after the opening of the Erie Canal, an English engineer, George Stephenson, demonstrated to the world the possibilities of the steam railroad. Since the Erie Canal threatened Baltimore's western trade, the merchants of that city planned to build a railroad across the mountains to

the Ohio River. An impressive ceremony took place at Baltimore on July 4, 1828, when the venerable Charles Carroll placed the foundation stone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, first of the iron bands between East and West. Then ninety-three years of age, Charles Carroll belonged to the past; but he saw clearly into the future when he said: "I consider this among the greatest acts of my life, second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence."

This early railway was a crude affair. Its "strap rails" were wooden beams fastened together at the ends, with a flat strip of iron spiked to the top of the beam. Along thirteen miles of this track, Peter Cooper's locomotive, the *Tom Thumb*, made its trial trip in about one hour. An exciting race took place on the double track near Baltimore between the *Tom Thumb* and a horse car. As the horse grew tired, the locomotive forged slowly ahead. Finally a pulley slipped off the engine, and the horse won the race after all. Still the trial trip was on the whole a success, the locomotive was soon improved, and larger cars were built for passengers and freight. By the year 1837, Philadelphia was connected with Baltimore and New York by rail. Lines were soon afterwards completed from Boston and New York to Albany, and from Albany west to Buffalo. East and West were then joined by rail as well as by the Erie Canal. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had climbed over the mountains by 1853 to Wheeling, West Virginia, where a junction was made with Ohio River steamboats running north and south. Philadelphia did not propose to be outrun by New York in the race for western trade.

Development of Railway Transportation. Just as the horse car gave way to the locomotive, so the canal was finally vanquished by the railroad. Canal traffic was safe and cheap, but slow and closed by ice during several months of each year. The first railways were built to connect waterways, or to freight the produce of the interior to the seaports. The railways soon began to parallel the canals, which declined in importance as railway mileage steadily increased. By 1840, there were nearly three thousand miles of railways in the United States. Roads were

built east and west, crossing mountains and uniting parts of the country before separated. They carried thousands of settlers to their new homes in the West, and hastened the development of the country's resources. If immigration by steam was less picturesque than by wagon, it was also cheaper and quicker. Thomas Jefferson said in 1803 that it would be a thousand years before the region east of the Mississippi would be fully settled.

Courtesy of the New York Central Lines.

The Engine, DeWitt Clinton, and Passenger Coaches

This was the first train to operate in the state of New York, running from Albany to Schenectady, August 9, 1831.

Had it not been for the canals and railroads, his prediction might have come true.

The National Government and Internal Improvements. If President John Quincy Adams could have had his way in 1824, the United States would to-day own the canals and railways, as well as many of the wagon roads of the country. Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe had opposed the construction of these internal improvements by the national government, on the ground that they were not expressly authorized by the constitution. But John Quincy Adams was a President of broad national views, who wanted Congress to spend millions in constructing roads, canals, and railways. Like his father,

President Adams was a man of sterling worth, but lacking in all the qualities of popular leadership. He failed to convince Congress or the country at large that the national government should undertake these improvements. One reason for this was the strong constitutional objection, that the national government had no such authority. Another was the opposition of the South. Itself an agricultural section, the South was unwilling to bear a heavy burden of taxes in order to build up a rival agricultural section in the West. Then, too, the states and cities of the Atlantic seaboard were already constructing canals and railways, each community striving to secure the trade of the West for its own benefit. So the rivalry of the different sections prevented the adoption of the President's plan for a national system of public improvements.

Opposition to the Protective Tariff. Our protective tariff policy was beginning to create an unfriendly feeling between different parts of the country. The tariff act passed after the War of 1812 was intended to protect our infant industries from foreign competition. From time to time, tariff rates were increased to give further protection; meanwhile, American manufactures were making great strides. The stronghold of protection was New England and the Middle States, where manufacturing flourished. The agricultural South opposed protection; the planters were unwilling to pay higher prices for their goods in order to encourage New England's factories. At last, in 1828, Congress passed a tariff measure displeasing to both North and South, — so much so, that it was called the "Tariff of Abominations." There were protests on all sides against this act, especially from the South which could not hope to set up factories on account of its slave labor. From this time on, the tariff became more than ever a sectional question, and South Carolina came forward as the champion of southern opposition to the policy of protection.

Formation of New Political Parties. Throughout his term of office, President Adams was the object of the most bitter political attacks ever made upon any President. Chosen by the House of Representatives in a contest with General Jackson who had

received more electoral votes, Adams was unpopular with the country at large; while Jackson, with his record at New Orleans and in Florida, was the hero of the hour. Immediately after his defeat in 1824, Jackson announced that he would be a candidate at the next presidential election. President Adams favored a protective tariff, a national bank, and internal improvements by the national government. General Jackson rallied to his standard the men opposed to this program, who believed in a strict construction of the Constitution.

New political parties were now formed; those who supported Adams and Clay were known as National Republicans, while the Jackson men called themselves Democratic Republicans. More statesman than politician, President Adams lost support by refusing to appoint his friends to office. One of them, an editor named Binns, told the President that he might be right in this policy, but that he could not hope to be reëlected. Although he was a man of the highest ideals, the people did not understand Adams; and they turned instinctively to the leader whom they felt to be one of themselves.

The Presidential Election of 1828. As early as October, 1825, the legislature of Tennessee had nominated Jackson for the presidential election of 1828. During the next three years shrewd political leaders managed his campaign. Local Jackson committees were everywhere organized, hundreds of articles were written for the press, and Jackson's military record was again spread before the people. That the hero of New Orleans had been the popular choice in 1824, cheated out of the Presidency by a corrupt bargain, was repeated time and again with telling effect. The result of the long and bitter campaign was a sweeping victory for Jackson. Every electoral vote west of the Alleghenies was cast for "Old Hickory." The democratic spirit which ruled the frontier was at last in control of the government.

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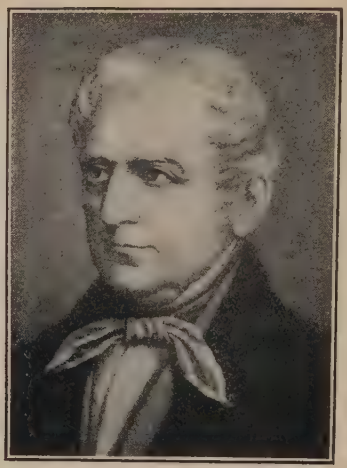
WASHINGTON IRVING

1783–1859

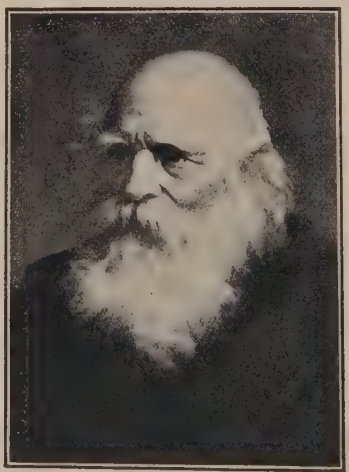
Founder of American literature



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

1789–1851

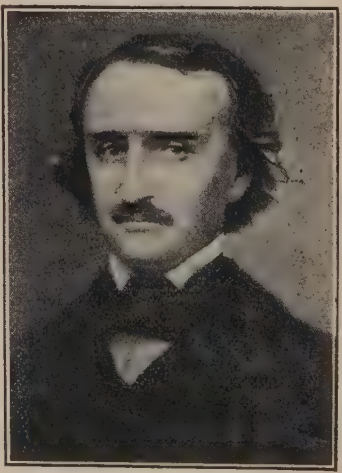
Pioneer American novelist



WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

1794–1878

Poet and journalist



EDGAR ALLAN POE

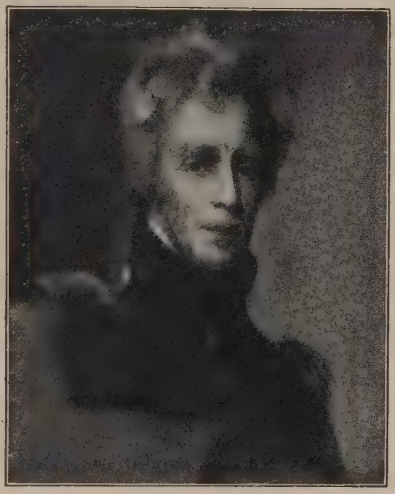
1809–1849

Poet and short-story writer

CHAPTER XXVI

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Jacksonian Democracy. With Jackson began a new era in American politics. His was the age of "Jacksonian Democracy," the rule of the people. Former Presidents, even Jefferson himself, had been chosen from the more learned, aristocratic class. In the early years of the Republic it was understood that this favored class should take the lead in managing public affairs, while the masses were to follow and obey. But with the election of Jackson, the people came into their own. Himself a sturdy frontiersman who had risen from lowest poverty by his own efforts, "Old Hickory" was one of the plain common people; and they gave him their confidence and trust more fully than to any other President. Victor in two Indian campaigns and hero of New Orleans, men admired Jackson for his proven courage, his energy and directness in accomplishing results, for his honest sincerity of purpose, his warm, sympathetic heart. Perhaps, too, they loved him for his very faults, — the hasty judgments that sometimes led him astray, the imperious will that could brook no opposition, the quick temper which involved him in many quarrels and not a few duels.



Andrew Jackson

From the original portrait by Thomas Sully in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

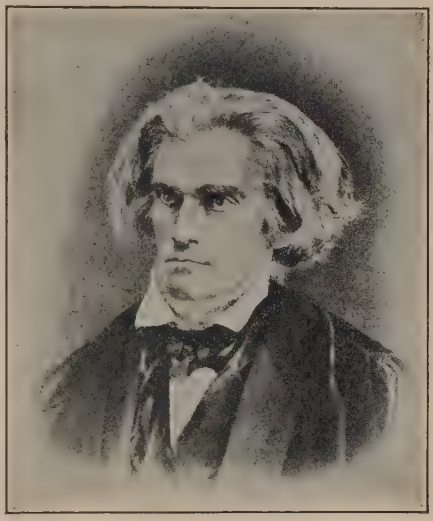
Jackson's Inauguration, March 4, 1829. Washington was the scene of wild enthusiasm on the day of Jackson's inauguration. The streets were filled with a motley throng of office seekers, friends, and visitors, all shouting and hurrahing for the "old hero." It was the people's day and the people's President. "A monstrous crowd of people is in the city," wrote Webster. "I never saw anything like it before. Persons have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some dreadful danger."

Yet Jackson was much more than an untrained, self-willed, frontier soldier. Webster himself said in 1837: "General Jackson is an honest and upright man. He does what he thinks is right, and does it with all his might." Men might criticize Jackson for his quick temper, for his stubbornness and intolerance of opposition; yet even his opponents could not deny his splendid personal qualities. Perhaps only two Presidents — Lincoln and Roosevelt — have ever rivaled Jackson in his ability to discern the popular will; and he possessed this supreme trait of leadership because he never lost touch with the people.

Hundreds of party workers remained after the inauguration, eager to claim their expected reward. They swarmed "a great multitude," wrote Webster, "too many to be fed without a miracle." Until Jackson's time, few office holders had been removed for party reasons. In forty years, the six Presidents had made only seventy-four removals. But the new President acted on the maxim, "To the victor belong the spoils." Within a year, hundreds of postmasters, customs officials, clerks, and other federal officers were dismissed to make room for Jackson men. In this way the vicious Spoils System was introduced into our national administration, a system which makes party loyalty, rather than fitness, the chief qualification for office. For more than half a century, succeeding Presidents followed the example set by Jackson, until at last public opinion compelled the adoption of Civil Service Reform.

The South Opposes the Tariff. When Jackson took office, the South was a unit against the high tariff duties intended to protect American industries. The planters were especially bitter

over the tariff act of 1828, which they denounced as an outrage. In earlier years, southern leaders had favored a protective tariff, hoping that cotton factories might be built at the South. But the slave lacked the intelligence and skill to operate machinery; moreover, the capital needed for factories was already invested in plantations and slaves. So the South remained an agricultural section, and her people came to regard the tariff as an unjust tax levied upon southern industry for the benefit of the North. Had it not been for the high tariff duties, the southern planter could have purchased cotton and woolen goods made in Europe at lower prices than he paid for the product of New England's looms.



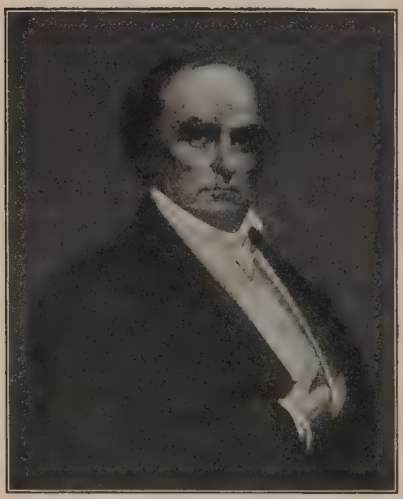
John C. Calhoun

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

South Carolina took the lead in opposing the "tariff of abominations." Her foremost statesman, John C. Calhoun, had favored a strong national policy up to this time; but he now joined the state rights party in the movement against the protective tariff. In the very year that he was elected Vice President of the United States (1828), Calhoun wrote for the legislature of his state a paper known as the *South Carolina Exposition*. This revived the doctrine of nullification, first put forward in the famous Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. How could a state protect itself against a law of Congress that it knew to be harmful, and believed to be unconstitutional? Calhoun's answer was, that any state might declare such a law null and void, and refuse to obey it. The legislature of South Carolina adopted Calhoun's

views, and passed resolutions denouncing the tariff as unconstitutional, as an abuse of power, and a menace to the welfare of South Carolina.

The Webster-Hayne Debate. Early in the year 1830, the question of nullification was argued before the United States Senate in the greatest debate ever held in Congress. On this occasion, Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina was the champion of the South Carolina idea. Hayne declared that if Congress passed a law which violated state rights, "any state would be justified, when her solemn protest failed of effect, in resisting the efforts of the federal government to execute the measure." Hayne pointed to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as his authority for this doctrine, resolutions drafted by "the fathers of the faith, maintained by Virginia and Kentucky in the worst of times."



Daniel Webster

From the original portrait by Alexander Pope in the Administration Building, Dartmouth College.

Northern men felt that the doctrine of nullification threatened the very existence of the Union. Anxiously they looked to the speaker who was to reply to Hayne. For this task no man in America was so well fitted as Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, the ablest constitutional lawyer of his day and the greatest of American orators. All of Webster's splendid powers of logic and eloquence were drawn upon in the famous speech which won for him the title, "Defender of the Constitution."

Webster's Argument for Union. Webster denied that a state might annul a law of Congress and refuse to obey it. This would make the Union "a rope of sand." There can be no

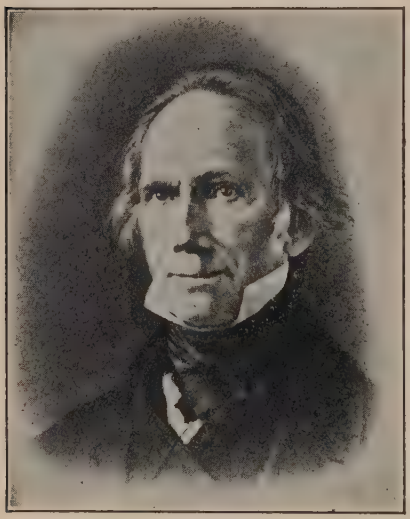
middle course " between submission to the laws on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion, on the other." The Union is the agent, not of the states, but of the people. The national constitution and government " were made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." Webster heaped ridicule on the idea that the United States was " servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. . . . It so happens that at the very moment when South Carolina resolves that the tariff laws are unconstitutional, Pennsylvania and Kentucky resolve exactly the reverse. . . . Does not this approach absurdity? " Instead of such an absurd plan, " the people, in their constitution, have provided the means of settling questions of constitutional law, namely, through the Supreme Court of the United States."

Nullification, said Webster, meant disunion; and in the grandest flight of eloquence ever heard in this country, Webster pleaded for the Union. For himself, at least, there should be " no cool weighing of the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder"; no hanging over " the precipice of disunion in the effort to fathom the depth of the abyss below." That for which he lived should be " Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable! "

"**The Federal Union: It Must be Preserved.**" Webster's logic did not convince the men of South Carolina. They determined to seek the aid of President Jackson, who was thought to be against high tariff duties. What a victory for the nullifiers if Old Hickory gave them his support! A great dinner was arranged in celebration of Jefferson's birthday. The President was the chief guest, and " State Rights " the favorite toast of the evening. When President Jackson was called upon, imagine the dismay of the nullifiers! His toast was: "The Federal Union: it must be preserved! "

South Carolina and Nullification. Congress passed a new tariff act in 1832 which lowered the duties, but not enough to please the South. South Carolina then determined to put her nullification theory into practice. Delegates were elected to a

state convention, which met at Columbia, South Carolina. This convention declared that the tariff acts passed by Congress were "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon the state, its officers or citizens." Payment of tariff duties was forbidden. In case the federal government attempted to collect the duties by force, South Carolina would secede from the Union, and "proceed to organize a separate government."



Henry Clay

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

The old military chieftain in the White House was not slow to take up the gauntlet. Six days later came Jackson's answer, a ringing proclamation to the people of South Carolina. The President declared that the doctrine of nullification was opposed to the very existence of the Union, and "destructive of the great object for which it was formed." In earnest words, he warned the people of South Carolina of the danger that they would incur by resisting the collection of the tariff duties. As chief executive of the nation, he would enforce the laws in every part of the Union. South Carolina and every other state must obey them. To a member of Congress from South Carolina, Jackson spoke still more plainly. "Please give my compliments to my friends in your state, and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I lay my hands on engaged in such treasonable conduct upon the first tree I can reach."

Clay's Compromise Tariff, 1833. At the President's request, Congress passed a law giving him full power to employ the army

and navy to collect the tariff duties. At the same time, Congress extended the olive branch to South Carolina in the form of a compromise tariff measure, suggested by Henry Clay. Tariff duties were to be gradually reduced, until by 1842 the rate would be a very moderate one. South Carolina promptly repealed her nullification ordinance, and the contest was ended. Both sides claimed the victory, but it was really a drawn battle. The supremacy of the Union had been maintained, the threatened resistance by a state defeated. On the other hand, South Carolina's action had compelled Congress to reduce the tariff duties. The spirit of disunion was checked, not conquered. In Jackson's time, South Carolina stood alone when she threatened secession. Thirty years later, she was again to array herself against the Union, this time on the issue of slavery; and on this issue her cause was the cause of the South. Unfortunately, the President of those later days, in the face of threats of disunion, failed to follow Jackson's vigorous example.

Jackson's War on the United States Bank. Jackson's contest with the United States Bank began during his first term. This institution had been chartered in 1816, for a term of twenty years. The national government owned part of its stock, and deposited its surplus revenue with the bank. Congress voted in 1832 to grant the bank a new charter, but President Jackson vetoed the bill. He declared that the bank was unconstitutional; that it gave a valuable monopoly to a few rich men; that the bank had too much power over the business of the country, and that its officers meddled in politics.

Clay had forced the bank charter through Congress in order to make it an issue in the presidential campaign of 1832. He thought that if Jackson vetoed the bill, he could defeat him on this issue. Clay was the idol of Kentucky, an orator second only to Webster, and a born leader of men. He favored a strong national government, and came forward as the champion of the protective tariff, a national bank, and internal improvements at the expense of the nation. But with all his splendid gifts, Clay was no match for Old Hickory in a political contest. The election resulted in an overwhelming triumph for Jackson and

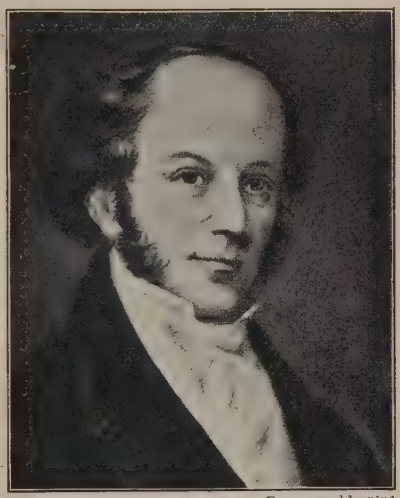
the Democratic party. Van Buren, already Jackson's choice as his successor four years later, became Vice President.

Withdrawal of the Government Deposits. Jackson's victory in the election meant to him that his veto was approved by the voice of the people. He determined to destroy the bank at once by depositing no more government funds with the hated monopoly. He ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to place the public funds in various state banks throughout the country, called by his enemies the "pet banks." The deposits already held by the United States Bank were to be drawn on for current expenses, so that the bank would soon hold no money belonging to the government.

The loss of the government deposits spelled ruin for the Bank of the United States. Jackson's policy compelled it to call in its loans, that is, to ask the men who had borrowed money to repay it at once. Soon the business world was face to face with a money famine. Building operations stopped in the cities, factories closed their doors, and thousands of workingmen were thrown out of employment. Business men all over the country begged Congress to revoke Jackson's order, committees besieged the President with protests, and the Senate passed resolutions censuring him for his action. But Jackson stood firm, protests and censure only making him more determined than ever. The strongest of his enemies was at last overthrown; and soon afterwards Jackson retired to the Hermitage, leaving his successor to face the dark days that were to follow.

The Panic of 1837. President by the grace of Andrew Jackson, Van Buren declared in his inaugural address that he "would tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." But his path was not to be a smooth one, for he inherited from his sponsor the conditions which brought on the panic of 1837. Jackson's war on the bank was partly responsible for this trouble. So too was his Specie Circular of 1836, an order that required buyers of public lands to pay for them in gold or silver coin, instead of in bank paper money. But the chief cause was the fever of speculation that spread over the entire country. The states were plunging into debt for internal improvements of

every kind, especially canal and railroad projects. They were encouraged in this extravagance by an unwise act of Congress. In January, 1835, the national debt was paid off; and Congress decided to distribute to the states, on the basis of their population, $30,000,000 of surplus revenue. The national government withdrew this money from the state banks where it had been deposited, and paid it over to the states. These banks were crippled by the withdrawal of the government deposits; they had loaned out the money, and now had to call on their borrowers to repay.



From an old print.

Martin Van Buren

Speculation in Western Lands. This was a fatal blow to the wildcat banking which had been going on for years. The state banks were issuing immense quantities of paper notes, known as wildcat money because of its uncertain value. In the vaults of the banks there was very little gold or silver coin with which to redeem their notes. The notes circulated only because the people had faith in the local bank, and because the United States government took its notes in payment for public lands. Money so easily issued was easy to borrow, and large sums were unwisely invested. Speculation in western lands became the order of the day. Men bought public lands with borrowed money, not for cultivation as farms, but to hold for future sale at higher prices. "Boom" towns sprang up all over the West; and even in eastern cities real estate values soared at an alarming rate. The South, too, caught the fever. In 1835, cotton rose to sixteen cents a pound. The planters bought thousands of negroes on credit, expecting to pay for them out of

the next cotton crop; but in the following year, cotton fell to ten cents.

Results of the Panic. All the conditions were ripe for a crash; and the panic began at the South when the price of cotton fell. The New York banks were soon obliged to suspend specie payments, that is, payments in coin; and the banks everywhere followed suit. Since the national government would no longer accept bank paper money in payment for the public lands, the people lost all confidence in the wildcat currency. Holders of these notes sent them back in floods to the banks which issued them, demanding that they be redeemed in coin. Unable to do this, the banks were forced to close their doors, and their depositors were ruined. In the West, the craze for internal improvements at the expense of the states came to a sudden end. Several states went into bankruptcy and repudiated their debts, millions of which were owed to creditors in Europe. As a result, our credit abroad was seriously impaired.

Conditions at home were even more alarming. Business all over the country was paralyzed, factories shut down, and men tramped the streets looking for work. The price of flour rose to eleven dollars a barrel, and bread riots terrorized New York and other cities. Speculation had sown the wind, and the people were reaping the whirlwind. The country laid the blame for the panic on the Specie Circular, and there were loud demands for its repeal. This Van Buren refused, for he was a firm believer in Jackson's policies. Then too, he realized that the panic was really the result of extravagance and speculation. Only time and suffering could remedy the mischief. After six months of terrible distress, the panic spent its force. By degrees the country recovered, but public confidence in the new administration was destroyed.

The Independent Treasury System. One result of the panic was to prove that in order to circulate at par, paper money must have something of real value back of it, such as gold or silver coin, or government bonds. Another lesson was that the United States government ought not to deposit its money in reckless private banks. At President Van Buren's suggestion, Congress

passed a law providing that in the future our government should keep its money in its own vaults. A national treasury was built at Washington, with subtreasuries in the larger cities of the country. For the next eighty years, our government kept its own surplus funds under this Independent Treasury System.

The William Henry Harrison House, Vincennes

Harrison served first under Anthony Wayne in the Ohio campaign against the Indians, 1791, and commanded Fort Washington, which is now Cincinnati. As Governor of Indiana Territory, Harrison fron 1800 to 1813 wielded autocratic powers fairly in dealing with Tecumseh and the Indian land claims.

He built this house as the seat of government in 1804, the first structure west of the Allegheny Mountains built of burnt brick. A tunnel six hundred feet long runs from the cellar to the bank of the Wabash River as a possible escape from attack and siege by the Indians.

Within recent years, a plan has been adopted by which the government deposits part of its surplus with the banks, on good security. This it can do with more safety than in Jackson's time, for the banks are now carefully regulated by law.

The Whig Party and Its Leaders. The men who followed Clay and Webster in opposing Jackson's policies at first called

themselves National Republicans. As the contest with Jackson became more bitter, a South Carolina paper suggested that those opposed to his tyranny call themselves Whigs. So the name applied to the Revolutionary patriots who fought against King George III was adopted by the men who were fighting "King Andrew." About the same time, the followers of President Jackson took the name of Democrats. Never popular with the masses, who accepted him only as Jackson's heir, Van Buren's chances of reëlection were destroyed by the panic of 1837. The Whig party approached the presidential election of 1840 in high spirits. Passing over their great leaders, Clay and Webster, the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, of Ohio. Like Jackson, Harrison was a frontiersman and Indian fighter, a hero of the War of 1812, and a plain man of the people. For Vice President, their candidate was John Tyler of Virginia.

The Log Cabin Campaign of 1840. Then came the noisy and picturesque campaign of 1840. A Democratic paper in Baltimore made the sneering comment that Harrison would be more at home " in his log cabin, drinking cider and skinning coons, than living in the White House as President." The Whigs caught up the sneer, and turned the taunt into an emblem of victory. " Old Tippecanoe " became the log-cabin candidate. The Whigs made much of the fact that Harrison was a man of the people, of simple tastes and homely virtues. Whig orators said that while the country was suffering from the terrible panic, Van Buren was living in splendor at the White House, eating from plates of gold and drinking choice wines. The Whigs adopted the log cabin as their campaign emblem, and hard cider was the beverage on tap at political meetings all over the land. Never before had the people shown so much enthusiasm over a presidential campaign. For the first time, immense outdoor meetings or campaign rallies were held, a prominent feature of which was a log cabin, wheeled along amid enthusiastic shouts for " Tippecanoe and Tyler too !" When the votes were counted, it was found that the Whig candidates had swept the country. Clever politician though he was, Van Buren did not even carry his own state of New York.

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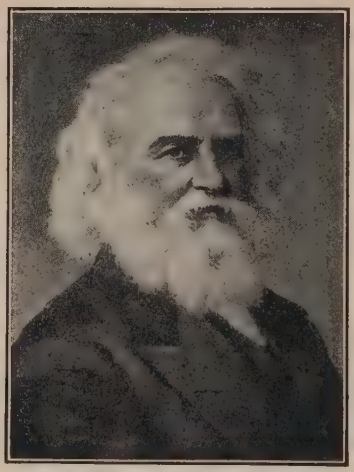


HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

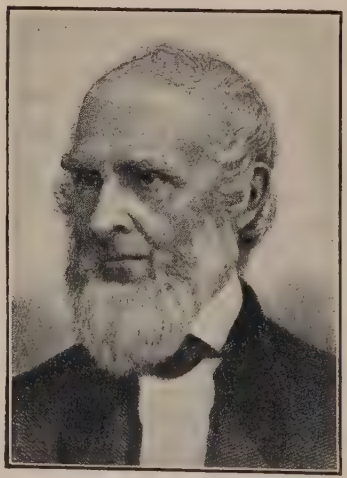
1807–1882

Our most popular poet

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

1809–1894

Essayist and poet



JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

1807–1892

Anti-slavery poet

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

1819–1891

Poet, essayist, and critic

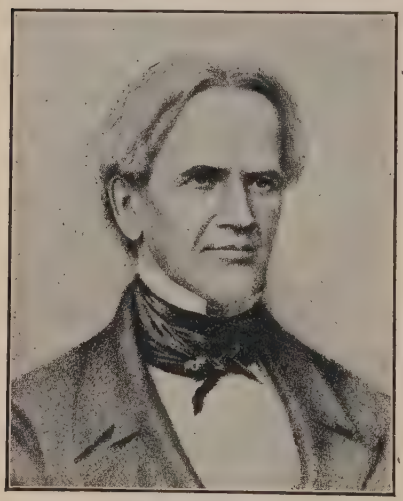
CHAPTER XXVII

HOW DEMOCRACY CHANGED AMERICAN LIFE

New Ideas in Politics. The democratic movement that resulted in the election of Andrew Jackson brought about many changes in our national life. When Jefferson became President, scarcely one man in five could vote. In many states, men were denied the ballot unless they owned a certain amount of property; in others, because they were Jews or Roman Catholics. By Jackson's time these restrictions were swept away; most of the states gave the right to vote to all men over twenty-one years, and a few radical persons even talked of giving the ballot to women. The people also seemed inclined to keep more power in their own hands, and to place less trust in their officials. Shorter terms of office were adopted, and many officials formerly appointed by the governor or legislature were chosen by popular vote. Instead of nominating candidates by a legislative caucus, political parties adopted the plan of nominating by party conventions. This method of nominating candidates was at first used for state offices, but beginning in 1832, presidential candidates were also nominated by party conventions.

Social Reforms. On social questions, too, the new spirit of democracy was making itself felt. Men began to pay more attention to the unfortunate classes, to the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane. Soon after the War of 1812, the first state asylum for the insane was built, and by 1840 there were fourteen of these asylums. This result was due chiefly to the noble work of Dorothea Dix. She traveled thousands of miles throughout the Union, pleading with state legislatures, and arousing public sentiment to a point where it would no longer tolerate the abuse and neglect of the unfortunate insane.

Massachusetts built the first asylum for the blind in 1833, and her example was soon followed by a score of other states. Many states also began to build asylums for the deaf and dumb, so that, like the blind, they might be properly cared for, and educated to become useful and self-supporting members of the community. As a result of the democratic spirit of the early thirties, the custom of putting persons in prison for debt was abolished. About this time, too, the temperance reform movement had its beginning, and in 1851 the first state prohibition law was adopted by Maine. In many ways the people showed that they were taking more interest in the weak and unfortunate members of society, and that they were anxious to make the conditions of life more favorable for all.



Horace Mann

New Ideas in Education. Free public education became an American ideal under the influence of the new democracy. A great educational awakening had its origin in Massachusetts in 1837. Horace Mann, one of the world's foremost educators, urged the people to build better schoolhouses, to employ well-trained teachers, and to spend more money upon the public schools. As a result of his labors, Massachusetts organized a state system of education along modern lines. This meant a uniform system of schools throughout the state, with a definite course of study and better textbooks. The first public high school appeared in Boston in 1821; after 1850 the number of such schools increased rapidly, taking the place of the earlier academies whose advantages were enjoyed only by the few. The example of Massachusetts was followed throughout New England and the Middle States; and by 1860 every northern

state had a well-organized school system, beginning with the first grade and ending with the senior year of the high school. At the South, less progress was made. Not until after the Civil War did the southern states establish complete systems of free public schools.

To aid the common schools, the national government made large gifts of public lands. Beginning with Ohio in 1802, each state admitted to the Union received one section of land in every township for the support of its public schools. After 1848, each

University Hall, University of Michigan

new state received two sections in every township for this purpose. These lands were usually sold by the states to private investors, the proceeds being placed in a permanent fund for the support of the schools.

State Universities and Agricultural Colleges. Liberal grants of land were also made for the support of state universities and agricultural colleges. Since 1800, each new state (except Maine, Texas, and West Virginia) has received at least two townships of public land for a state university. In 1817 in Michigan and in 1820 in Indiana, schools were founded which later became the first mid-western state universities. From this time on, the estab-

lishment of state universities kept pace with the stars on the flag. Nearly every state now maintains a university, open on equal terms to both boys and girls. Graduates of high schools in good standing are admitted without examination, and tuition is practically free. The establishment of the state universities completed the ideal of our American system of education; that ideal is, to make it possible for every boy and girl in the land to receive an education at public expense, beginning at the kindergarten and ending with graduation from the university.

Many special schools for the education of students in law and medicine were established during the period from 1840 to 1860. Higher industrial education began in 1835 with the opening of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, followed about ten years later by the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, and the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard. The first normal school for the training of teachers was opened in 1839 at Lexington, Massachusetts. By 1850, twenty normal schools were in existence.

Our Three Pioneer Authors. Early in the nineteenth century, three great American writers began to produce books that were read all over the world. In 1809, Washington Irving published his *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, a humorous account of the early Dutch settlers. Next came his *Sketch Book*, with the classic tale of *Rip Van Winkle*. About the same time, James Fenimore Cooper wrote *The Spy*, our first great American novel, soon followed by his fascinating *Leather-stocking Tales* of Indian life. The editors of the *North American Review* had never read a great poem by an American author. Imagine their astonishment when they learned that *Thanatopsis*, one of the world's masterpieces, was written by an American youth of seventeen years, William Cullen Bryant. Each of these pioneer authors was a master in his own field of literature: Irving in the writing of short stories and sketches, Cooper as a novelist, Bryant in the realm of poetry.

Five Great American Poets. Longfellow and Whittier, the two poets who stand highest in our literature, were both born in the year 1807. Longfellow loved children, and he is above all

the poet of childhood. *Hiawatha* and *Evangeline* place him in the front rank of the world's masters of verse, but *The Children's Hour* is perhaps his most beautiful poem. Whittier is the great anti-slavery poet, although his masterpiece, *Snowbound*, is a simple epic of winter life on a New England farm. When the old frigate *Constitution* was about to be broken up as useless, Oliver Wendell Holmes saved the ship from destruction by his stirring poem *Old Ironsides*. James Russell Lowell wrote the beautiful *Vision of Sir Launfal*, and painted a noble picture of Lincoln in his *Commemoration Ode*. Edgar Allan Poe, in some respects our most gifted author, wrote weird and wonderful poems like *The Raven*.

Prose Writers. In prose, too, American authors were producing work of the highest rank. Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is perhaps our greatest American novel, written by a master of faultless English. Poe's *Gold Bug* and other short stories gave him first place among the world's writers of mystery tales. No less an authority than Dickens pronounced Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* "about the best sea-book in the English tongue." Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel that stirred the world, and helped bring on the Civil War.

Among our essayists and philosophers, first rank must be given to Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose writings "cut the cable that bound us to English thought." Thoreau wrote *Walden* and other works on nature; Lowell produced a brilliant series of literary and political essays; and Oliver Wendell Holmes, "the sunlight of American literature," gave us *The Professor at the Breakfast Table*. Among scientific writers, there were Benjamin Rush in the field of medicine, James Kent in law, Noah Webster, who published an American dictionary, Audubon, who gave us an account of the birds of North America, and Agassiz, our foremost naturalist.

American Orators and Historians. Of the orators whose speeches were read all over the country, two names stand before all others, Webster and Clay. Webster is by common consent our greatest orator, our Demosthenes and our Burke. More

than any other man, he created a national feeling, a desire for "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." In later years, the struggle over slavery brought to the front a group of eloquent speakers, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Ward Beecher, and last, but greatest of all, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address* and his *Second Inaugural Address* are two of the best public speeches ever written.

The stirring events of our early history were well told by George Bancroft, whose *History of the United States* covers the period from the discovery of America to the adoption of the Constitution. Two other great historians began their work shortly before the Civil War. Prescott wrote of the Spanish conquests in Mexico and Peru, while Motley immortalized the struggle of Holland against the tyranny of Spain.

Religious Activities. In our country, the churches have no connection with the government; in other words, there is a complete separation of church and state. This principle is emphasized in the first amendment to the federal Constitution, which provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In the early part of the nineteenth century, many new denominations were established. Most of these were offshoots of the older churches, and resulted from the American spirit of liberty and independent thought. Christianity was gaining many converts, both at home and abroad. The churches began to exert a powerful influence against intemperance. From northern pulpits also came prophetic warnings against slavery, the issue which soon was to divide the churches as well as the nation along sectional lines. But the greatest single achievement of the churches during this period was the missionary movement. Charitable and religious work was carried on among the Indians of the West and the negroes of the South. Foreign missions were encouraged, and in 1812 the first American missionaries to a foreign country sailed for India.

New Ideas on Slavery. Early in the nineteenth century the northern states had freed their own slaves, for slave labor was not suited to northern climate or industry. Beginning about

1830, the democratic spirit of the time gave rise to a movement in favor of forcing the southern states to emancipate their slaves. Thousands of men at the North now looked upon slavery as a great evil. This result was largely the work of the abolitionists, of such bitter enemies of slavery as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore Parker. Eloquent speakers and gifted writers took up the cause of emancipation. Whittier, Lowell, and Emerson brought the pen of genius to its aid; Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker denounced slavery in words of fire. "Slavery is a sin," said the abolitionists; "destroy it, or break up the Union." In 1831, Garrison published the first number of his famous Boston journal, *The Liberator*. In words of terrible earnestness, he wrote: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD!"

Results of the Abolition Movement. That Garrison was heard is proven by the rapid increase of the abolition societies. There were two hundred of these in 1835, while five years later they numbered two thousand. Conservative men at the North looked upon the abolitionists as fanatics. Garrison was mobbed on the streets of Boston; Birney's newspaper office at Cincinnati was wrecked; Lovejoy was shot by an Illinois mob. The South regarded the abolitionists as criminals, and offered rewards for the arrest of their leaders. Some Virginia slaves, led by a negro preacher, Nat Turner, rose in revolt in 1831, and killed sixty white persons, mostly women and children. The South blamed Garrison and his paper for this horrible massacre. After this event, no abolition leader dared venture south of Mason and Dixon's line. "Let us alone," cried the angry southerners; "keep out your *Liberator* and the other abolition papers from our mails; it is they that are arousing the slaves to revolt. Prevent the spread of your abolition ideas; put Garrison in prison, and stop the publication of his paper."

Denial of the Right of Petition, 1836–1844. Still the abolitionists kept up their work, and gradually their influence began to tell. They formed the American Anti-Slavery Society,

made up of men who demanded immediate emancipation; they sent out agents to organize local anti-slavery societies; they flooded Congress with petitions against slavery, circulated tracts and pamphlets, and tried to enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the slave. Petition after petition was presented in Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, an uncompromising foe of slavery, took the lead in presenting these petitions. Provoked at last by the stubborn persistence of Adams, the House adopted its famous gag rule (1836). Under this rule, all petitions and resolutions relating in any way to the subject of slavery were laid upon the table, without being read, printed, or acted on in any way. The abolitionists could now say that the right of petition, the ancient bulwark of liberty, was denied to them. More memorials than ever were sent to Congress; Adams continued to present them, and on each occasion the Speaker would declare him out of order. At last the slavery men realized that the gag rule was only strengthening the cause of the abolitionists, and it was repealed in 1844.

An Anti-Slavery Party Formed. Since neither the Whigs nor the Democrats would take sides on the slavery question, the anti-slavery men determined to form a political party of their own. They nominated James G. Birney for President in 1840, but he received only about seven thousand votes. Four years later, Birney was again the candidate of the Liberty party, as the anti-slavery men now called themselves. This time his popular vote was sixty-two thousand, and the support given him in New York State defeated Henry Clay for the presidency.

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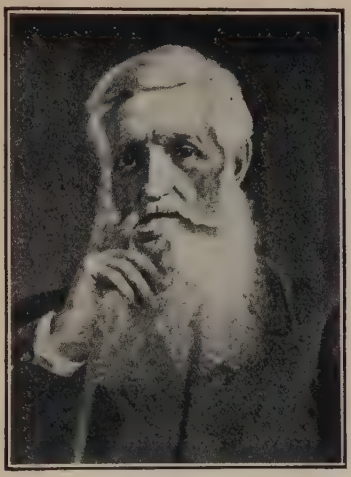


GEORGE BANCROFT

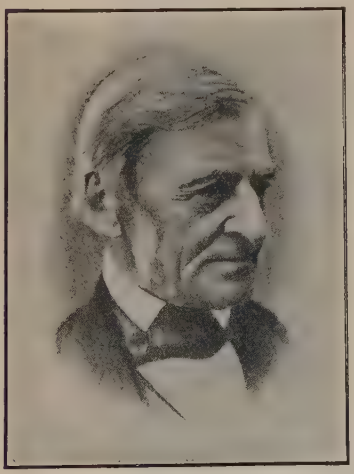
1800–1891

Historian, statesman, and diplomat

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

1796–1859

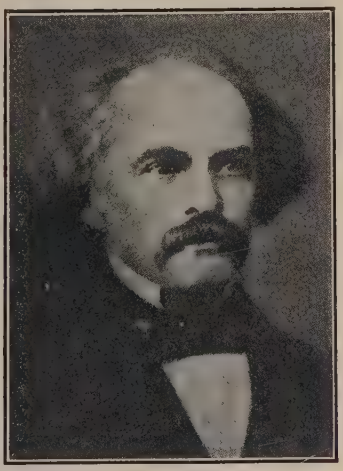
Historian and essayist



RALPH WALDO EMERSON

1803–1882

Philosopher, essayist, and poet



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

1804–1864

Our foremost novelist

From the painting by Leutze in the Capitol, Washington.

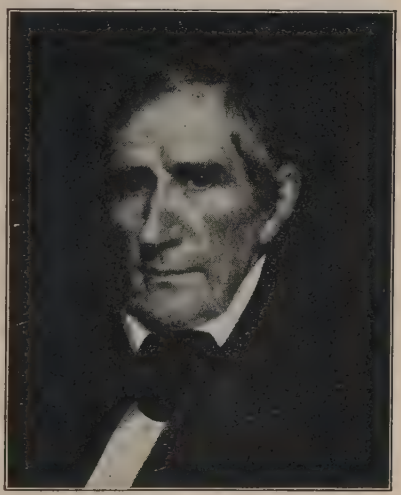
"Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way"

Bishop Berkeley's famous line is made the motive of this picture, which illustrates the courageous spirit of the pioneers as they pressed steadily westward. The scene is at sunset; the long train of prairie schooners, led by scouts, has toiled up the mountain trails to the summit; then the brave emigrants forget their weariness as they look out upon the glowing, fertile plains where they will make their new homes.

CHAPTER XXVIII

OUR GREAT WESTWARD EXPANSION

Inauguration and Death of Harrison. On March 4, 1841, the first Whig President was inaugurated. It was a cold, windy day; but for two hours President Harrison rode with bared head in the procession along Pennsylvania Avenue. Already weakened by the long and tiresome journey from his farm in Ohio, the President caught a severe cold. During the following weeks, when the old Indian fighter most needed rest and quiet, he was besieged by a horde of eager office seekers. The cold developed into pneumonia; and just one month after the inauguration, the brave, upright, kindly Harrison passed away, the first of our Presidents to die in office.

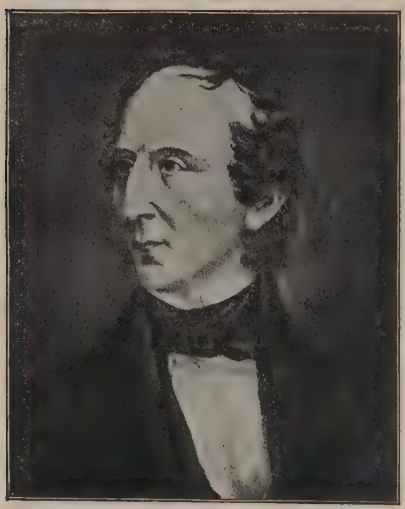


William Henry Harrison

Tyler's Quarrel with the Whigs. The Whigs were dismayed at the death of their chief, and with good reason. Our Constitution provides that when the President dies, the Vice President shall succeed him. Harrison's death placed John Tyler of Virginia in the presidential chair; and Tyler was at heart a Democrat, allied with the Whigs only because of his opposition to Jackson. Within six months, there was a bitter quarrel between President Tyler and the Whig Congress. Under Clay's

direction, Congress passed a bill creating a new Bank of the United States. This measure the President promptly vetoed. When the Whigs amended the bill so as to meet his objections, they were staggered by a second veto. Henceforth, it was to be war to the death between Tyler and the party which had placed him in office.

Two days after the veto, every member of the Cabinet except Webster resigned office. Seventy Whig Congressmen met in a caucus, and prepared an address to their fellow Whigs which read Tyler out of the party. They denounced the President as a man who had betrayed his party, even as Benedict Arnold betrayed his country. Tyler's vetoes, they said, had wrested from the Whigs the fruits of a victory crowning twelve years of effort to secure control of the government. For the remaining three and a half years of his term, Tyler stood alone, a President without a party. Over Congress he could exercise no control, for the Whig majority opposed him in a solid phalanx, Henry Clay at their head. The chasm between Tyler and the Whigs could scarcely be widened, even when the President sent in another veto, this time against a Whig tariff law.



John Tyler

From an old print after the portrait by Thomas W. Sully, Jr.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Webster did not resign his office as Secretary of State until after he had concluded an important treaty on which he was engaged. For years there had been a controversy between Great Britain and the United States over the northeastern boundary of our country, the territory in dispute lying along the Maine border. The peace

treaty of 1783 had established a boundary line between Canada and the United States, but the maps used were inaccurate, and it was hard to tell just what line was meant. Every attempt to settle the dispute had ended in failure, but at last Webster succeeded where other men had failed. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty adopted a compromise line which gave the United States about seven twelfths of the area in dispute, while Great Britain secured the remainder. The two nations also agreed to coöperate in putting down the African slave trade, and to surrender fugitives from justice escaping from one country to the other.

Texas Declares Her Independence, 1836. Soon after Mexico became independent of Spain (1821), the Mexican government passed a law to encourage colonization in the province of Texas. Attracted by the offer of cheap lands, thousands of pioneers from the southwestern part of the United States crossed the Sabine River, taking their slaves with them. At last when twenty thousand Americans were living in Texas, Mexico became alarmed and forbade any more of our citizens to enter that country. No attention was paid to this order, for Texas was no longer a Mexican province except in name. Texas was in fact an American community, awaiting the favorable moment to throw off the Mexican yoke. The opportunity came in 1835, when General Santa Anna made himself ruler of Mexico by the familiar process of heading a successful revolution. Santa Anna set aside the constitution of Mexico, and ruled the country as a military dictator. The petition of the Texans for a separate state government was rejected, and four thousand troops were ordered into Texas. Nothing now remained for the Texans except submission to military despotism, or a war for liberty. They chose to fight, and a convention which met in March, 1836, declared that henceforth Texas was a free and independent republic.

In the city of San Antonio an old mission fort, the Alamo, stands to-day as a revered landmark in the struggle for Texan independence. Here in the spring of 1836, a little band of 183 Texans made a heroic stand for ten days against 1000 Mexicans.

When the Mexicans finally captured the fort, they promptly murdered the few survivors among its garrison. The Alamo was avenged two months later. In the battle of San Jacinto, 800 Texans under General Sam Houston routed President Santa Anna's Mexican army of 5000 men, and took him prisoner.

The Alamo, San Antonio, Texas

The Alamo or "Poplar Church" was built in 1757 by the Spanish as a chapel and fort.

When Santa Anna imprisoned Stephen F. Austin, the "Father of Texas," the Texans made Sam Houston commander in chief of the local forces to resist invasion. Santa Anna attacked the Alamo February 22, 1836. The defenders were commanded by Colonel James Bowie, Lieutenant Colonel William B. Travis, and David Crockett, the famous Indian fighter. The fort did not fall until every man had been killed or disabled before the final assault of the Mexicans. "Thermopylæ had her messenger of defeat: the Alamo had none."

Texas became an independent state, the "Lone Star State," it was popularly called, since its flag contained a single star. Texas was recognized by the United States and other powers, but its independence was not conceded by Mexico.

Texas and the Slavery Issue. With independence won, Texas at once asked to be annexed to the United States. An-

nexation was favored by the South; for with her 371,000 square miles of slave territory, Texas seemed to be the promised land for the southern planter. Northern men were alarmed at the prospect; for this immense territory, more than eight times as large as Pennsylvania, might some day be cut up into half a dozen slave states. The New York *Evening Post* declared that the question at issue was whether our government "shall devote its whole energies to the perpetuation of slavery." On the other hand, southern leaders like Calhoun insisted that annexation was necessary "to guarantee the protection of the slave system." Thus the issue between slavery and freedom was drawn even more sharply than in the days of the Missouri Compromise.

Because of the opposition of the anti-slavery men, Texas for seven years knocked in vain at the door of the Union. President Tyler, himself a Virginian, was strongly in favor of annexation. "No civilized government on earth," said he, "would reject the voluntary tender of a domain so rich and fertile, so replete with all that can add to national greatness and wealth, and so necessary to its peace and safety." The President laid before the Senate an annexation treaty made with Texas by his Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun. To every one's surprise, the Senate by a decisive vote refused to ratify the treaty. Anxious as they were for annexation, even the southern Senators would not aid Tyler's political fortunes by voting for his pet measure. With the presidential election of 1844 so near at hand, the Texas question became a leading issue in the campaign.

The Presidential Campaign of 1844. After a hard fight in the Democratic convention at Baltimore, the friends of annexation won the day. They nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee for President, and declared for the annexation of Texas, as well as the occupation of the whole of Oregon. This platform was an appeal to the expansion sentiment of both North and South — Oregon for the North, Texas for the South.

For the third and last time, Henry Clay was chosen by the Whig party as its standard-bearer. Clay's position was a difficult one. If he declared for annexation, he would lose the votes of the northern Whigs; if he opposed it, he could not hope

to carry the South. Clay started out by opposing annexation, but during the campaign he came out with a letter in which he tried to please both sides. "I should be glad to see it," he wrote of the annexation, "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms. I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other." This attempt to "straddle" lost Clay the anti-slavery vote in New York and Michigan, and with it, the Presidency.

Texas Annexed as a Slave State, 1845. Polk's victory in the presidential race meant that Texas would be annexed; so Tyler hastened to secure the prize before he went out of office. Congress passed a resolution in favor of annexing Texas, which was signed by President Tyler just three days before his term ended. News of the annexation resolution was received by the Texans with wild enthusiasm. They promptly adopted a state constitution, and in December, 1845, Texas was admitted into the Union as a slave state. The annexation was not likely to prove a peaceful one. Mexico had not recognized the independence of Texas, and had warned our government that she would regard annexation as equivalent to a declaration of war. When Congress voted to annex Texas, Mexico at once broke off diplomatic relations with the United States; that is, she recalled her minister from Washington, and began to prepare for war.

Flag of "The Lone Star State"

Expansion to the Pacific. Our history during the next three years, from 1845 to 1848, is the story of that wonderful westward expansion which carried the American flag to the Pacific Ocean. Just as Jefferson in 1803 had pushed the western limits of the United States from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, so Polk's administration carried that boundary to the shores of the Pacific. Oregon, California, and New Mexico added to the Union 810,000 square miles of territory, an area nearly equal to the Louisiana Purchase. The larger part of this westward

expansion — New Mexico and California — came as the result of war with Mexico; but in the Northwest, Oregon was secured by a peaceful compromise with Great Britain.

The Oregon Question. The Oregon that we secured was not the Oregon claimed in the presidential campaign of 1844. In the early forties, Oregon was the name given to the whole region west of the Rockies, between Spanish America at 42°, and Russian America (or Alaska), which extended south to 54° 40′. Great Britain as well as the United States claimed the Oregon country, and it was hard to settle the dispute. The Democratic convention that nominated James K. Polk took a strong stand in support of our claim to the entire region. "The whole of Oregon or none" was the campaign cry of the Democrats; while "Fifty-four-forty or fight" was another, still more defiant.

Our claim to Oregon was based on four grounds:

(1) *Discovery.* In 1792, Captain Robert Gray, a Boston fur-trader, discovered the river which he named after his ship, the *Columbia.*

(2) *Exploration.* In 1805, Lewis and Clark passed down the Columbia River from its headwaters to the ocean, spending the winter in a camp near its mouth.

(3) *Treaty.* In 1819, Spain signed a treaty with the United States, giving up in our favor her claims on the territory north of the parallel of 42°.

(4) *Settlement.* In 1811, the fur-trading post of Astoria was established at the mouth of the Columbia by John Jacob Astor. More important still, thousands of American settlers had gone to Oregon, taking their families with them. By 1845 there were six thousand American settlers in Oregon, most of whom lived south of the forty-ninth parallel.

On her part, Great Britain claimed title to that part of Oregon between Alaska and the Columbia River. Her claim was based: (1) On Drake's voyage along the Pacific coast in 1579, also upon the explorations of Cook, Vancouver, and Mackenzie. (2) The British Hudson Bay Company had established a number of fur-trading posts in Oregon, and north of the Columbia River many Canadian settlers had found homes.

The Oregon Dispute Compromised. The United States and Great Britain had signed a treaty in 1818, agreeing that both countries might occupy the disputed territory west of the Rocky Mountains, leaving the settlement of the boundary for the future. This agreement for joint occupation could be ended by either country on giving a year's notice to the other. President Polk was elected on a platform which demanded that the United States secure the whole of Oregon. With the approval of Congress, he served notice on Great Britain that the agreement for joint occupation should end after twelve months.

Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

The Hudson Bay Company's Fort Vancouver, 1845

This trading post was located within what is now the United States military reserve of Fort Vancouver, Washington, near Portland, Oregon.

How was the boundary dispute to be settled? The line of 54° 40′ would shut Canada off from the Pacific, and to this Great Britain would never consent. On the other hand, the quiet forces of settlement and industry had made the region south of the Columbia an American community. The United States was already at war with Mexico; and President Polk wisely decided that one war at a time was enough. So a treaty was signed in June, 1846, by which each country gave up a part of its claims. It was agreed that the forty-ninth parallel of latitude should be the northern boundary of the United States, from the Rocky

Mountains to the Pacific. This gave us the territory between the parallels of 42° and 49°, from which the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho have sinced been formed, together with portions of Montana and Wyoming. Great Britain secured the splendid domain now the province of British Columbia.

The Oregon Trail. The settlement of Oregon is one of the most romantic chapters in our history. The year 1832 marked the beginning of the American advance into the Oregon country.

Copyright and Courtesy of the Ladies' Home Journal.

A Far Western Trading Post

Among the earliest settlers were the missionaries, who went to the banks of the Columbia in answer to the request of the Indians for the white man's Bible. An army of settlers was soon making its way over the Oregon trail. This emigration was partly due to the panic of 1837, and the hard times that followed. Another motive was the excitement of a journey beyond the great mountains into a new country. The "Oregon fever" seized upon thousands of settlers in the Middle West, who hastened to set out over the Oregon trail. This trail extended two thousand miles across plains and mountains, from Inde-

pendence, Missouri, through the South Pass to the valley of the Columbia. It took from three to five months to make the journey, the settlers traveling in caravans for mutual aid and protection.

In the year 1843, a thousand emigrants of all ages collected at Independence, Missouri, for the journey to Oregon. Their caravan included 120 wagons and 5000 horses and cattle. The women, children, and household goods were carried in large wagons with canvas tops, called "prairie schooners." The men and older boys walked or rode alongside on horseback, driving herds of cattle, and holding their guns ready for a sudden Indian attack. At night the wagons were drawn up in a great circle, and securely fastened together. The teams were unyoked and driven out to pasture, fires were lighted to cook the evening meal, tents were pitched for the men, and the guard mounted. The watches began at eight o'clock in the evening, ending at four the next morning.

Government of the New Territory. No hardship of drought or tempest or Indian attack could check the tide of settlers which was pouring into the Willamette Valley; and by the year 1846, Oregon was the home of six thousand American pioneers. These settlers formed a voluntary association for their government, elected officers, and adopted a code of laws. Pride in their settlement and confidence in its future were even then characteristic of the West. "A few months since," wrote Elijah White in 1841, "at our Oregon lyceum, it was unanimously voted that the colony of Willamette held out the most flattering encouragement to immigrants of any colony on the globe." In 1846, as we have seen, the boundary dispute with Great Britain was settled by a compromise. Two years later, Congress passed an act for the government of Oregon Territory, one clause of which forever prohibited slavery in this region.

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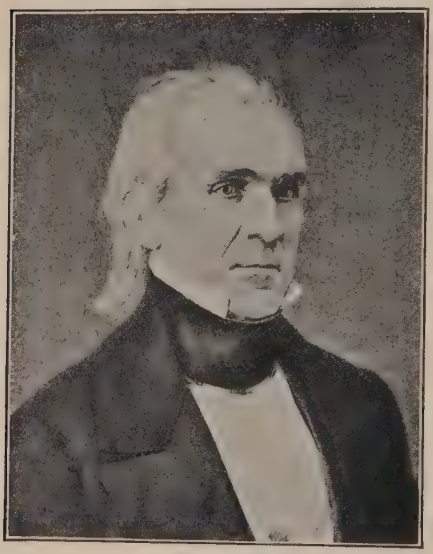
CHAPTER XXIX

OUR WAR WITH MEXICO

Causes of the War. The annexation of Texas alone might not have brought on war with Mexico, but there were other causes of friction between that country and the United States. In the first place, Mexico's repeated refusal to sell Texas was exasperating to the southern statesmen in control of our government. Bent on securing more slave territory, these leaders felt aggrieved because Mexico stood in their way. Then too, Mexico refused to pay the claims of our citizens whose property had been seized during the frequent Mexican revolutions. It is true that the Mexican government was bankrupt, and unable to pay these or any other claims; but this fact seemed to President Polk only another reason why Mexico ought to accept our offer to purchase California and New Mexico. On her part, Mexico resented the aid given by our citizens to the Texan revolutionists. The final grievance, so far as Mexico was concerned, was our annexation of Texas, even though this event came nine years after the "Lone Star State" had won her independence.



James K. Polk

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, War Department, Washington.

President Polk came into office determined to secure California and New Mexico, in addition to Texas, from our resentful neighbor. California was already on the point of declaring her independence; and President Polk believed that in spite of our Monroe Doctrine, Great Britain meant to possess that country if she could. Accordingly, Polk sent a commissioner to the City of Mexico with an offer of forty million dollars for California and New Mexico. Popular feeling compelled the Mexican government to decline to receive our commissioner. Apparently the differences between the two countries could be settled only by an appeal to arms.

Outbreak of War. Besides her resentment over the annexation itself, Mexico had another grievance. Texas claimed that her southwestern boundary was the Rio Grande; Mexico insisted that it was the Nueces River. Adopting the Texan claim, President Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to advance to the Rio Grande. Taylor's advance meant war. On April 24, 1846, a party of American dragoons was ambushed by a large force of Mexicans who had crossed to the east side of the Rio Grande. When this news reached Washington, President Polk sent a war message to Congress declaring: "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." Congress promptly voted to enlist fifty thousand men for "the war which exists by the act of the Republic of Mexico."

Three campaigns were planned against Mexico. First, General Taylor's army of occupation was to march across the Rio Grande to Monterey, striking against the northern provinces of Mexico. Second, California and New Mexico were to be occupied and held, for President Polk meant to claim this territory as the price of peace. Third, General Scott was to seize the port of Vera Cruz on the southeastern coast, and from this point march directly upon the City of Mexico.

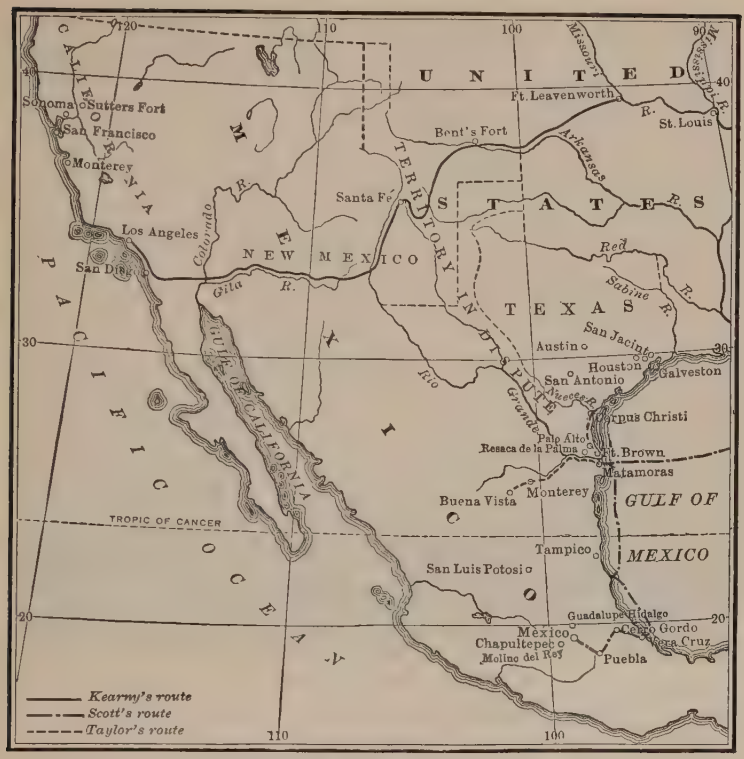
The Campaign in Northern Mexico. General Taylor's campaign in northern Mexico was a series of victories. The Mexican soldiers made a brave, desperate defense against the invader; they had always the advantage of numbers, and, usually,

of position. But in training, equipment, and leadership, they were hopelessly inferior to our troops. Driving the Mexicans before him, General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and advanced westward. After an attack lasting three days, he captured the strongly fortified town of Monterey. Northern Mexico was in the hands of our army of occupation by the end of the year 1846.

Many of Taylor's men were now sent to aid in the attack on Vera Cruz; and General Santa Anna planned to retrieve Mexico's cause by crushing Taylor's weakened army. Near the village of Buena Vista, a narrow mountain defile offered our troops a splendid position for defense against superior numbers. Here, on February 22, 1847, General Taylor's army of 5000 men met the charges of 20,000 Mexicans. The field was stubbornly contested for two days, but the battle ended in the greatest victory won by our forces during the war. His work over, "Old Rough and Ready," as the soldiers loved to call General Taylor, left for his Louisiana plantation. He was not to remain there long, for Buena Vista gave the United States another military hero, and soon afterwards, another soldier-President.

Conquest of New Mexico and California. The second campaign against Mexico was the seizure of her northern possessions, California and New Mexico. This was accomplished in a few months, almost without a blow. Starting from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, a little army under Colonel Stephen Kearny made the difficult march of nine hundred miles to Santa Fé. Without the loss of a man in battle, Kearny raised the Stars and Stripes over the capital of New Mexico. Henceforth, he declared, this entire territory was to form part of the United States.

The first prize of the war was won, but a greater remained. From Santa Fé, Kearny pushed westward towards the Pacific. Imagine his disappointment on learning from the scout, Kit Carson, that California was already conquered! At the first news of war, the American settlers in California declared their independence of Mexico. That result was due chiefly to John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder," who in 1845 had led a band of



Texas and the Mexican War

Showing Kearny's route to New Mexico and California; General Taylor's campaigns in northern Mexico; and General Scott's campaign against the capital.

explorers to California. As soon as war broke out, Frémont, aided by Commodore Stockton of the navy, took possession of the country. General Kearny's forces arrived in time to complete the task. California was easily won. "We simply marched," said one of Frémont's soldiers, "all over California from Sonoma to San Diego, and raised the American flag without opposition or protest. We tried to find an enemy, but we could not."

General Scott Captures the City of Mexico. Mexico was not yet ready to yield, so the third campaign was begun. General

Winfield Scott landed his army of twelve thousand men at Vera Cruz in March, 1847. Two hundred miles away was the capital of Mexico; this time it was to be a blow at the heart. Sixty miles from Vera Cruz, at the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo, the Mexicans made a desperate stand. On the second day of the combat, the Americans swept through the pass with impetuous force, crushing Santa Anna's army. Four months of inaction followed, while vain efforts were made to persuade the Mexicans to accept President Polk's olive branch; in other words, to cede California and New Mexico. At last General Scott's army

San Francisco, 1849

Thirty American trading vessels lie in the harbor.

again advanced, and repeated victories opened the way to Mexico City. Storming the heights of Chapultepec, the powerful fortress that guarded the capital, our soldiers entered the City of Mexico and raised the Stars and Stripes over the National Palace. Santa Anna had fled, and Mexico lay prostrate before the invader.

The treaty of peace was signed in February, 1848. Mexico gave up her claim to the disputed territory in Texas, and ceded Upper California and New Mexico. In return, the United States paid Mexico $15,000,000, and agreed to pay claims held by our citizens against Mexico to the amount of $3,500,000.

Results of the War. (1) *An immense territory won.* The cession of California and New Mexico added 529,000 square miles of territory to the United States, from which have been formed

the states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Because of a dispute over the southern boundary of the cession, the United States in 1853 paid Mexico $10,000,000 for a strip of land in the southern parts of New Mexico and Arizona, known as the " Gadsden Purchase."

(2) *A spirit of distrust created.* The surrender of this territory was the logical result of the war, but Mexico has never forgiven the United States for the seizure of her provinces. Moreover, the other republics of Central and South America became suspicious of the aims and policies of the United States, fearful lest this country might again expand toward the south. This distrust for many years prevented the close friendship that should exist between the United States and her sister republics on the American continents.

(3) *A new westward movement begins.* Gold was discovered in the Sacramento Valley one week before the peace treaty was signed. The next year, one hundred thousand people started for California, beginning another great westward movement.

(4) *The United States becomes a power in the Pacific.* The annexation of California and Oregon gave us an unbroken coastline of more than one thousand miles on the Pacific, with one of the finest harbors in the world at San Francisco Bay. From this time on, the United States became vitally interested in the trade of the Pacific. American ships had been carrying on an important trade with China for many years. When that country was finally opened up to the outside world in 1858, we secured the same privileges that were granted to a number of European nations. By this treaty, a number of Chinese ports were opened to our trade, and China agreed to receive a diplomatic representative from the United States.

About this time, too, Commodore Matthew Perry, a brother of the hero of Lake Erie, made a treaty with Japan which opened two of her ports to our commerce. The United States became more interested than ever in Hawaii, where hundreds of our whaling vessels had been stopping every year. We recognized the independence of Hawaii in 1843, and this action probably prevented the seizure of the islands by some European power.

(5) *An ocean-to-ocean route planned.* The United States made a treaty with Colombia in 1846 which gave us a right of way across the Isthmus of Panama. American capital built a railroad across the isthmus during the next seven years, and this route aided the " Forty-Niners " who were flocking to the gold fields of California. Soon afterwards we made a treaty with Nicaragua giving the United States important rights in the construction of a canal through that country. At the same time we agreed to take Great Britain into partnership if we built a canal in Nicaragua; while in return, Great Britain promised that she would never attempt to plant a colony in Central America. The United States also promised that if a canal or railroad should be built at Panama, it would be " open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms."

(6) *The slavery contest reopened.* Many northern men opposed the war with Mexico, believing that its real object was to secure more slave territory. Even before the treaty of peace was signed with Mexico, the contest over slavery was renewed in Congress. From that time until the Civil War, slavery was the one supreme issue before the country.

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CHAPTER XXX

SHALL THE NEW TERRITORY BE SLAVE OR FREE?

The Wilmot Proviso. The cession of California and New Mexico again raised the question of what to do about slavery in the territories. When President Polk asked Congress for an appropriation to carry out his annexation policy, David Wilmot, a Congressman from Pennsylvania, offered a startling amendment. He moved to add a declaration that slavery should never exist in any territory acquired from Mexico. This famous Wilmot Proviso was a bugle call rousing to action the friends and foes of slavery. Since the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the politicians had tried to avoid the slavery question, but in spite of their efforts it had become a national issue. The Wilmot Proviso passed the House of Representatives, but failed in the Senate where the slave states were in the majority after the annexation of Texas. The debates in Congress were carried on in a tone more and more bitter. Northern men frankly declared that they would permit no more slave states to enter the Union. The legislatures of the free states, and even of Delaware, declared that slavery must be excluded from the territories.

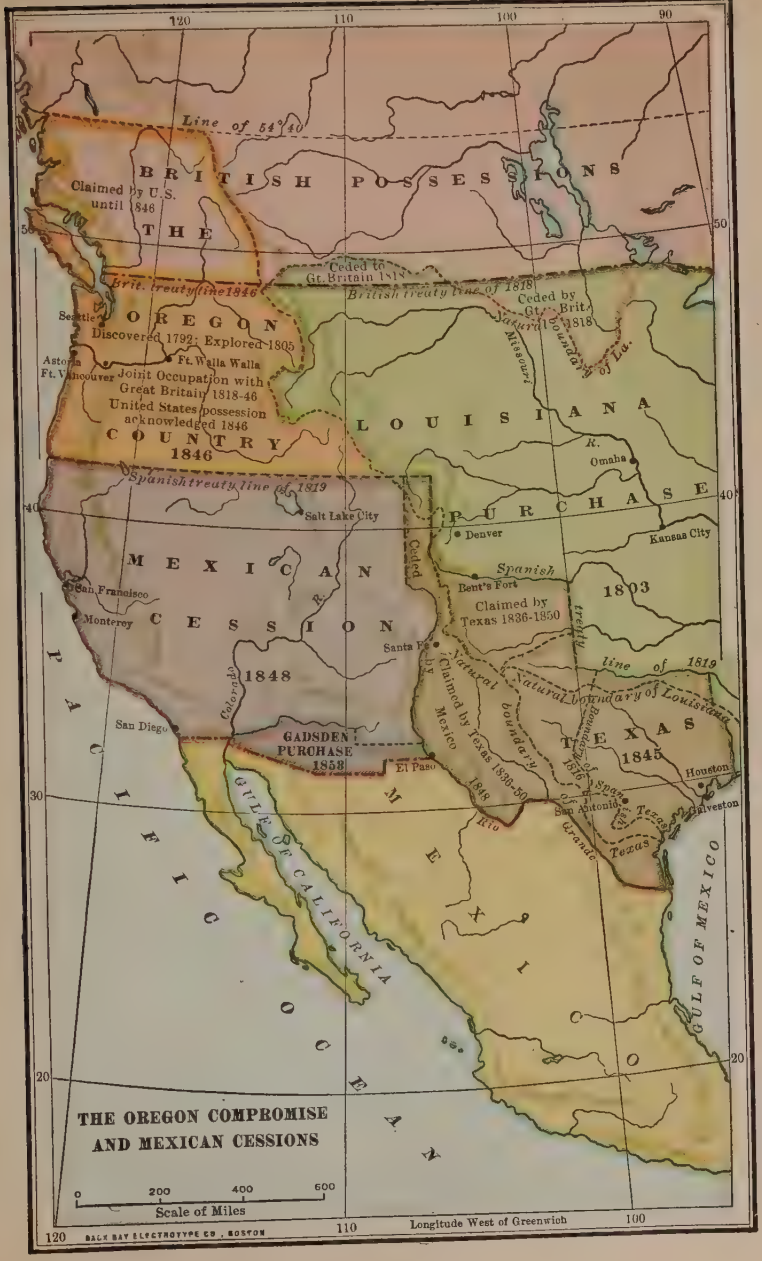
Thomas H. Benton

The senator from Missouri who advised the people of California to form a simple government, and to take care of themselves until Congress could provide for them.

Southern leaders, on the other hand, insisted that the South had a right to share in the territory which its own blood and treasure had helped to win. Calhoun refused to accept President Polk's suggestion that the Missouri Compromise line be extended across the Rockies to the Pacific, excluding slavery north of that line in the Mexican lands as in the Louisiana country. Southern leaders now denied that Congress had any right to exclude slavery from the territories. The Constitution protects property; slaves are property, they said, hence the Constitution protects the right to own slaves in any territory just as it protects the right to own horses and cattle there. Slavery could not be excluded until the territory became a state, and then only in case its people chose to adopt a free constitution.

Worst of omens, the division on the Wilmot Proviso was not between parties, but between sections. At the North, Democrats and Whigs were opposing slavery, just as southern Whigs and Democrats were united in its defense. Plainly, slavery would soon break down old party lines. Already it was dividing the churches; in 1844 the Methodist Church split into a northern and a southern body, the question at issue being the right of a bishop to own slaves. Shortly afterwards, the Presbyterians divided on the question whether a slaveholder might be a member of their church. Slavery seemed to be a wedge splitting apart churches and political parties. How long could the Union itself endure, as the wedge sank deeper and deeper?

Slavery in the United States in 1850. With the admission of Wisconsin in 1848, the Union was made up of fifteen free states and fifteen slave states. The population of the free states was 13,000,000; that of the slave states 9,500,000, of whom 3,200,000 were slaves. We must not think of every Southerner as a slave owner. On the contrary, less than one third of the white population of the South owned slaves. Then, too, many slave owners owned only a few slaves each. This was especially true of Virginia and the border states, Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Many of the slaves in these states were household servants. If employed in the field, they worked under the personal direction of the master. Hence slavery in the border states


120
110
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Line of 54° 40'
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Claimed by U.S. until 1846
THE
Ceded to Gt. Britain 1818
Brit. treaty line 1846
British treaty line of 1818
Ceded by Gt. Brit. 1818
Seattle
OREGON
Discovered 1792; Explored 1805
Astoria
Ft. Vancouver
Ft. Walla Walla
Joint Occupation with Great Britain 1818-46
United States possession acknowledged 1846
COUNTRY
1846
Missouri
Source of La.
LOUISIANA
R.
Omaha
PURCHASE
1803
Spanish treaty line of 1819
Salt Lake City
Denver
Kansas City
Ceded
MEXICAN
CESSION
1848
San Francisco
Monterey
Bent's Fort
Claimed by Texas 1836-1850
Spanish
Trail
Santa Fe
Natural boundary of Louisiana
line of 1819
Claimed by Mexico
Natural boundary of Texas 1836-50
Colorado
San Diego
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
El Paso
Boundary of Texas 1836
TEXAS
1845
Houston
Galveston
San Antonio
Rio Grande
Texas
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
30
20
THE OREGON COMPROMISE AND MEXICAN CESSIONS
0 200 400 600
Scale of Miles
Longitude West of Greenwich
BACK BAY ELECTROTYPE CO., BOSTON

was very different from the same institution in the cotton states, where a few planters owned large numbers of negroes. On the large plantations of the lower South the slaves usually worked under overseers. The chief concern of many of these men was to get as much work as possible out of each hand for the slaveholder.

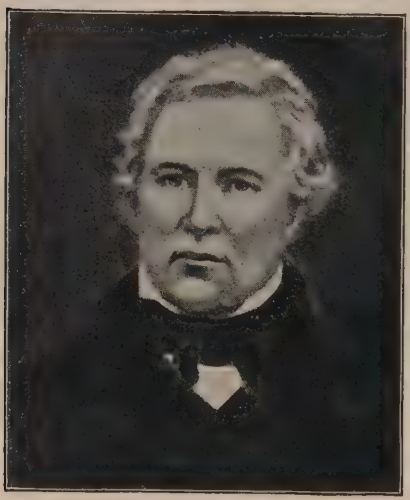
Slaves were personal property, and were sold in the same way as horses and cattle. One of the worst evils of the system was the separation of families by a sale to different owners. The more humane planters tried to avoid this by refusing to sell the husband apart from the wife, or the mother away from her very young children. Slave auctions were common in the larger cities of the South, and every southern newspaper carried advertisements of "likely young negroes" for sale, or "negroes wanted." About twenty-five thousand slaves from the border states were sold each year to be taken farther south, into the cotton states. Nothing was more dreaded by the Virginia slave than the threat that he would be sold down South. The price of cotton and of slaves generally went hand in hand. In the years from 1850 to 1860, a good field hand was worth from $1000 to $1500.

A few southern states permitted the owner to instruct his own slaves in reading or writing, but as a rule, the negro was kept in darkest ignorance. The South realized that education would make the slaves discontented with their lot. Slaves were generally instructed in religion; they were taught to believe in God, and that slavery was in accord with His will.

Parties and Candidates in 1848. So far as possible, both the Democratic and Whig parties avoided the slavery question in the campaign of 1848. The Democrats put forward as their presidential candidate Lewis Cass of Michigan, "a northern man with southern principles." The Democratic platform condemned every effort by the abolitionists or others to induce Congress to interfere with the slavery question. Cass tried to please both sides in the slavery dispute by his doctrine of squatter sovereignty; that is, letting the settlers in the territories decide for themselves whether or not they would have

slavery. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana for President, and Millard Fillmore of New York for Vice President. They adopted no platform, relying for victory on Taylor's military record.

There were many Democrats and Whigs who did not like this dodging of the slavery question. These men formed a Free Soil party, with ex-President Van Buren as their candidate. The platform of the Free Soil party declared against slavery in the strongest terms: "We accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave states and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is, no more slave states and no more slave territory." The voters of the North were not yet ready to support an anti-slavery party. General Taylor had made a splendid record as a fighter; and again, as in the case of Jackson and Harrison, the country chose a soldier-President.



Zachary Taylor

The Discovery of Gold in California. Nine days before California became ours by the peace treaty with Mexico, gold was discovered near Fort Sutter, in the beautiful Sacramento Valley. The attempt to keep the precious discovery a secret was in vain; the news soon leaked out, and from all parts of California men rushed to the gold fields. Business came to a standstill, stores and newspaper offices closed down, towns were left almost uninhabited. Sailors deserted from incoming ships, soldiers left their garrisons, prisoners broke jail and fled to the mines, followed by their jailers. "The whole country," exclaims the California *Star*, "from San Francisco to Los Angeles, re-

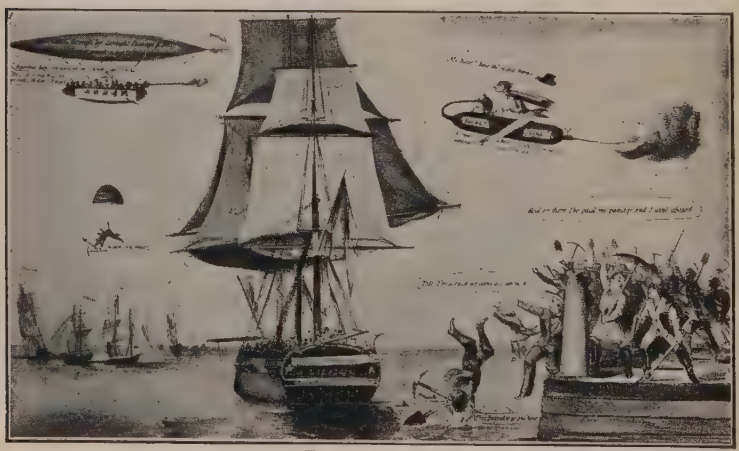
sounds to the sordid cry of Gold! Gold!! Gold!!!" The tidings reached the Atlantic seaboard in September, 1848. Then began a westward movement such as the world had never seen. Merchants and mechanics, farmers and professional men, gamblers and thieves, all started on a mad rush for the land of gold, where fortunes were made in a day.

How the Forty-Niners Reached California. There were three routes by which men from the East could reach the gold fields. One was the long and dangerous ocean voyage around Cape Horn. The second route was by steamer to the Isthmus of Panama. Here the passengers had to disembark, and travel across the pestilence-laden isthmus on mule-back and in rude native boats. Arriving at Panama on the Pacific coast, they often had to wait for weeks before securing passage on a steamer for San Francisco. But most of the gold seekers chose the overland route, either by way of Santa Fé, or over the Oregon Trail to the Humboldt River, then southwest across the Sierra Nevada Mountains. This meant a wagon journey of some 2700 miles through swamp and desert, across mountain barriers and flooded lowlands. There was terrible suffering from heat and cold, from thirst and starvation. The slow-moving caravans were scourged by cholera and menaced by Indian attacks. Still the hardy Forty-Niners pressed on, although 5000 of their number found their graves along the way.

Sutter's Mill

California Forms a State Constitution. Within the single year of 1849, the population of California leaped from 6000 to

85,000. It was such a population as the discovery of gold always brings. Every nationality of the world was represented, as well as every type of American, — honest laborers and adventurers for the most part, together with many gamblers, thieves, and desperadoes. Thefts, drunken brawls, and murders were an everyday affair. Disputes over mining claims were usually settled by the pistol or bowie knife. At length the American instinct for law and order began to assert itself. Numerous vigilance



From a contemporary lithograph in the Library of Congress.

The Way They Go to California

The imagination of the cartoonist developed a rocket and an airship line to carry the "Forty-Niners" to California.

committees were formed to hunt down and punish men guilty of theft or murder. Their justice was crude but swift, and lynch law became the terror of the criminal. The law-abiding settlers were anxious to form a permanent, legal government, like the one they had left in the states. So they elected a convention which drew up a constitution forbidding slavery. The people adopted this constitution in November, 1849, elected a governor and legislature, and asked Congress for statehood. Without waiting to be organized as a territory, California was knocking at the door of the Union.

California Seeks Admission as a Free State. "Shall California be admitted as a free state?" was the burning question when Congress met in December, 1849. The people of California had forced this issue upon the country. Their demand again opened up the dreaded slavery issue. A free California would mean that slavery was to be shut out from a large part of the region wrested from Mexico, from the land which the South had done so much to win. It would mean, too, that the North would have control of Congress; for with California, there would be sixteen free states and only fifteen slave states. The South was a unit against the admission of California. Southern Congressmen declared that they would choose secession, rather than a Union in which slavery was no longer safe.

Henry Clay as Peacemaker. A crisis was at hand. Who so fitted to meet it as the "Great Compromiser," Henry Clay of Kentucky? After forty years of active public life, Clay had retired, broken in health, to his home near Lexington. As the political storm gathered, the legislature of Kentucky, by unanimous vote, sent him back to the United States Senate. There for the last time we see those three mighty leaders, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, whose places were soon to be filled by younger statesmen.

"If any one desires to know the leading object of my life," said Clay, "the preservation of this Union will furnish him the key." To save the Union in 1850, as in the days of the Missouri Compromise, Clay advised compromise and conciliation. Both North and South, he declared, must make concessions. Men traveled hundreds of miles to hear that wonderful appeal for a "Union of hearts," and they were not disappointed. For two days Kentucky's great orator, then in his seventy-third year, his body racked with a severe cough, cast the spell of his eloquence over the Senate. His plea was for compromise, for good will and friendliness, for mutual concession and forbearance, and above all, for union.

The Compromise of 1850. What was Clay's plan? With some changes, his proposals were finally adopted as the Compromise of 1850, popularly called the "Omnibus Bill."

(1) The admission of California as a free state.

(2) The organization of New Mexico and Utah as territories, the question of slavery to be decided by the settlers when their territories became states.

(3) Payment of $10,000,000 to Texas for giving up to the United States the land which she claimed in New Mexico.

(4) The slave trade (but not slavery) prohibited in the District of Columbia.

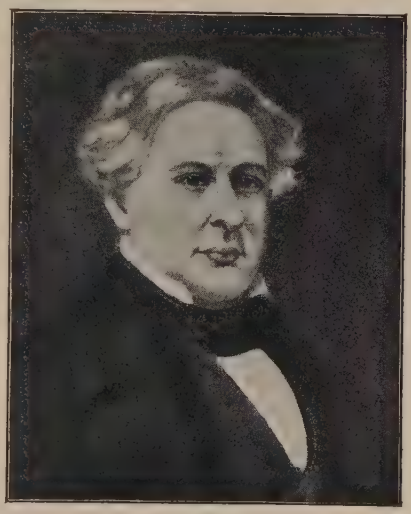
(5) A strict fugitive slave law.

The Great Debate in the Senate: Calhoun's Speech. The Senate listened on March 4 to a solemn protest against the compromise from John C. Calhoun, the dying leader of the South. Calhoun was too feeble to deliver his carefully written speech, so it was read for him by another Senator. Calhoun's speech was a message of despair. No compromise would save the Union, for the balance of power between the North and the South had already been destroyed. There was no hope of saving the Union unless the North should agree: (1) to give the South an equal right in the territory acquired from Mexico; (2) to fulfill its duty to return fugitive slaves; (3) to put a stop to the anti-slavery agitation. "If you of the North will not do this, then let our southern states separate and depart in peace."

Webster's Seventh of March Speech. The greatest orator in the Senate had not yet spoken; but on the seventh of March, Webster delivered his famous speech in support of the Compromise. Webster's dislike of slavery was strong, but his love for the Union was stronger. With Clay, he believed compromise necessary to save the Union. Webster began: "I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a northern man, but as an American. . . . I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union." He said that it was unnecessary to prohibit slavery in New Mexico; nature, the climate and the soil of the country, had made slavery impossible there. "I would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of Nature, nor to reënact the will of God. And I would put in no Wilmot Proviso, for the purpose of a taunt or a reproach." The North, continued Webster, had failed to perform its duty to return fugitive slaves;

and in this matter "the South has a right to complain." He condemned the abolition societies; in twenty years "they had produced nothing good or valuable."

The North was stunned at Webster's speech. The anti-slavery men thought that he had deserted their cause; the abolitionists were enraged. Horace Mann wrote: "Webster is a fallen star! Lucifer descending from Heaven!" Theodore Parker said: "I know no deed in American history done by a son of New England to which I can compare this but the act of Benedict Arnold. . . . The only reasonable way in which we can estimate this speech is as a bid for the Presidency." Whatever Webster's motive, his Seventh of March speech made it impossible for him ever to become President.



Millard Fillmore

The anti-slavery cause found new champions in two men who had just entered the Senate, William H. Seward of New York, and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Both Seward and Chase opposed Clay's plan; they demanded that slavery be prohibited in the territories, and they denounced the Fugitive Slave Law. Against the Compromise, too, was the new leader of the South, Jefferson Davis. "Under Clay's plan," asserted Davis, "the South came away with empty hands, while the North took everything."

The Compromise Adopted. Thus the bitter debate dragged on for nine months, until finally Clay's proposals were referred to a committee of thirteen Senators. Meantime, President Taylor, who was opposed to the compromise, suddenly died, and Vice President Fillmore became President. Congress at last

passed the compromise measures in four separate acts, which were signed by President Fillmore. The country seemed pleased with the result. Excitement gave way to a general feeling of relief that the vexed slavery question was at last settled. Enthusiastic Union meetings at New York City, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and New Orleans approved the action of Congress. The Missouri Compromise had brought peace for thirty years; was it not reasonable to suppose that the new compromise would prove equally successful? Might it not create, as Clay and Webster hoped, a Union of hearts as well as a Union of law?

The Fugitive Slave Law. The Compromise of 1850 did not bring about the hoped-for peace. To the North, the hateful feature of that compromise was the new Fugitive Slave Law. Our Constitution, indeed, declared that runaway slaves should be returned to their owners; and Congress in 1793 had passed an act telling how this should be done. But laws depend upon the loyalty and good faith of the people to carry them out; and the people of the North would not obey a law which made it their duty to send men back to slavery. By 1850, thousands of fugitive slaves were living in the North; and the South, as Webster said, had just cause for complaint.

If northern opinion had made the law of 1793 a dead letter, what could be hoped for from the severe act of 1850? Written by a slaveholder, the new law left no chance for the negro. There was no jury trial, as Clay and Webster had wished. Instead, federal officers (known as United States Commissioners) were to decide whether the negro claimed by a slaveholder was really his property. The negro could not even testify in his own behalf. The law made it the duty of all good citizens, if requested, to aid in the capture of runaway slaves; while any one who helped a fugitive to escape was liable to fine and imprisonment. Worst feature of all, negroes who had been living in peace and quiet at the North for many years might be arrested and sent back to slavery. In alarm, thousands of them fled to Canada, to take refuge on the British soil that made men free.

The fugitive slave act offended the conscience of the North, at last strongly aroused on the question of slavery. At Faneuil

The United States in 1850

Showing the fifteen free and fifteen slave states, and the disposition of California and the territories by the Compromise of 1850. The dividing line between the slave and free states ran, as in the days of the Compromise of 1820, from the northern boundary of Delaware, along the Mason-Dixon Line, the Ohio River, and (except for Missouri), westward by the line of 36° 30′.

Hall, Boston's cradle of liberty, a monster mass meeting condemned the law. From thousands of northern pulpits, ministers declared it contrary to the laws of God. A Boston mob took a fugitive slave named Shadrach out of the hands of the officers, and sent him to Canada. At Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, it cost a Virginia slave owner $1450 to secure the return of two slaves valued at $1500. As Senator Charles Sumner had predicted, the North would not enforce a law that struck at the deepest moral convictions of its people. Northern men might tolerate slavery at the South; it was quite another matter to expect them to aid in dragging some poor runaway back to slavery.

The Underground Railroad. For many years the abolitionists had been helping slaves to escape. The means by which they did this was known as the "Underground Railroad." This was not really a railroad, nor was it underground. It was a chain of the homes of abolitionists, where fleeing slaves might find refuge. Each house was called a station, and the route stretched from the border slave states to Canada, or to some large city in a free state. On reaching the first station, the fugitive was clothed, fed, and hidden, until he could be taken to the next station, perhaps twenty miles north. Even in distant Louisiana, the slaves knew that freedom lay in the direction of the north star; but they knew, too, that the journey was long and filled with perils. In fifty years, nearly fifty thousand slaves made good their escape; but three millions of their brothers remained in bondage. The Underground Railroad had two important results: (1) The South was made more bitter toward the North, where the Fugitive Slave Law was held in open contempt. (2) Slavery became more hateful to northern men, who heard from the escaped slaves sad stories of their sufferings.

Uncle Tom's Cabin. It remained for a woman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, to deliver the greatest blow yet struck against slavery. Her novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was "an outburst of passion against the wrong done to a race." Without question, it exaggerated the evils of slavery; but thousands of northern readers accepted it as a true picture of the slave system. The success of the book surprised even its author. In the first year,

1852, three hundred thousand copies were sold; eight printing presses running night and day could not keep up with the popular demand. At once dramatized, the play was an immense success. Thousands of spectators thrilled at the escape of *Eliza*, and wept over the tragic fate of *Uncle Tom*. Well might Rufus Choate predict: "That book will make two millions of abolitionists." The northern boys who read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* soon became voters, and their votes were cast for the new Republican party, formed to oppose the extension of slavery.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

The Presidential Campaign of 1852. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 brought disaster upon the political party in power. When the Whigs met in their national convention of 1852, they did not dare to nominate President Fillmore, for he had signed the measure that was so hateful to the North. Henry Clay, founder of the Whig party, and thrice its candidate for the Presidency, lay on his death bed; while Webster's Seventh of March speech made his nomination hopeless. The Whigs had won two presidential campaigns by nominating successful soldiers; they now planned to win a third victory by naming General Winfield Scott, the hero of Mexico. But even Scott's military record could not save his party from a crushing defeat. "Here lies the Whig party," said a wit of the times, "which died of an effort to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law."

Franklin Pierce

From a photograph in the New York Public Library.

After a long struggle in the Democratic convention, the nomination went to General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. He was a "dark horse" candidate; that is, a man not thought of or discussed as a possible choice before the convention met.

Pierce had won little fame either as a lawyer or statesman; he had served in the Mexican campaign, but was not, like Scott, a distinguished soldier. The Whigs had a good deal of fun over Pierce's military record. They published a campaign book of a half dozen pages, one inch by one half inch in size, printed in the smallest type, and entitled: "The Military Services of General Franklin Pierce." In spite of this ridicule, the "dark horse" won the presidential race of 1852. Pierce easily defeated General Scott as well as the Free Soil candidate, receiving 254 electoral votes to 42 for Scott.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. When President Pierce took the oath of office in 1853, the country seemed about to enter upon an era of quiet prosperity. The excitement over the Compromise of 1850 had died away; the Democratic party, restored to power, was pledged to maintain that Compromise; and apparently the slavery issue was settled for all time. Within a year after the inauguration, the country was suddenly awakened from its dream of tranquillity. The new cause of discord was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which proposed to throw open to slavery half a million square miles of free territory. Strangely enough, this proposal came not from the South, but from Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Talented, popular, and ambitious, Douglas hoped to be the standard-bearer of the Democratic party in the next presidential campaign. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, his opponents declared, was his bid for southern support.

Between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains was a vast region larger than all the free states east of the Rockies, but containing less than one thousand white inhabitants. It embraced what is now the states of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. All of this territory formed part of the Louisiana Purchase; all of it lay north of the parallel of 36° 30′; on every foot of its soil slavery was "forever prohibited" by the Missouri Compromise. This was the domain that Senator Douglas proposed to organize into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, in which the settlers might have slavery or not, as they chose.

Repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The measure introduced by Senator Douglas declared the Missouri Compromise void. The voters of each territory were to decide for themselves the question of slavery. "If they wish slavery," argued Douglas, "they have a right to it; if they do not want it, you should not force it upon them." This was the famous principle of popular sovereignty, first put forward by Cass and now championed by Douglas. The South was delighted with the plan, for it gave that section more than its own leaders ever dreamed of demanding. But at the North, a storm was rising such as the country had never seen. Hundreds of newspapers attacked the bill as a violation of plighted faith. For thirty-four years the Missouri Compromise had been regarded as a sacred compact. That compact was now to be set aside, and 485,000 square miles of free territory thrown open to slavery. Mass meetings throughout the North denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and burned its author in effigy. Three thousand New England clergymen signed a petition against the measure.

Stephen A. Douglas

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, War Department, Washington.

Amid this storm of protest from his own section, Douglas stood unmoved. "The Little Giant," as his friends loved to call him, was a brilliant orator, a shrewd and popular political leader. Most of his party members in Congress followed where he led. With whip and spur, Douglas carried his bill through the Senate and House, and President Pierce's signature made it the law of the land. As Senators Chase and Sumner walked down the steps of the Capitol, they heard the booming of cannon

from the navy yard announcing the triumph of Douglas. "They celebrate a present victory," said Chase to his friend, " but the echoes which they awake will never rest until slavery itself shall die." The North was beaten, but it was aroused.

The Struggle for Kansas. Southerners took it for granted that Nebraska, the northernmost of the two territories, would become a free state ; but they hoped that Kansas, which lay just west of Missouri, would be settled by slaveholders. The North was determined that Kansas, as well as Nebraska, should enter the Union as a free state. The struggle began to see which section could send the larger number of settlers into Kansas before the vote was taken on the question of slavery. From western Missouri, pro-slavery men crossed into Kansas, where they built towns and made ready to claim the territory for slavery. From the free states, too, settlers were pouring into Kansas. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was formed in Massachusetts to send out northern settlers. The work of this company angered the pro-slavery men, and they sent back to Missouri for reinforcements.

When it came time to elect a legislature in Kansas, five thousand well-armed Missourians marched across the border to vote for the pro-slavery candidates. The South considered that this invasion was justified because of the activity of the Emigrant Aid Society in sending northern settlers to Kansas. The legislature chosen by Missouri votes at once passed laws establishing slavery, and punishing with death any one who aided a slave to escape. The anti-slavery men decided that they would not obey a government elected by voters from another state, and they proceeded to organize a government of their own. Adopting a constitution that forbade slavery, they elected a legislature and asked Congress to admit Kansas as a free state. Thus Kansas had two rival and hostile governments, each claiming to be the lawful government of the territory. President Pierce took sides in favor of the pro-slavery men, and announced that he would support their government.

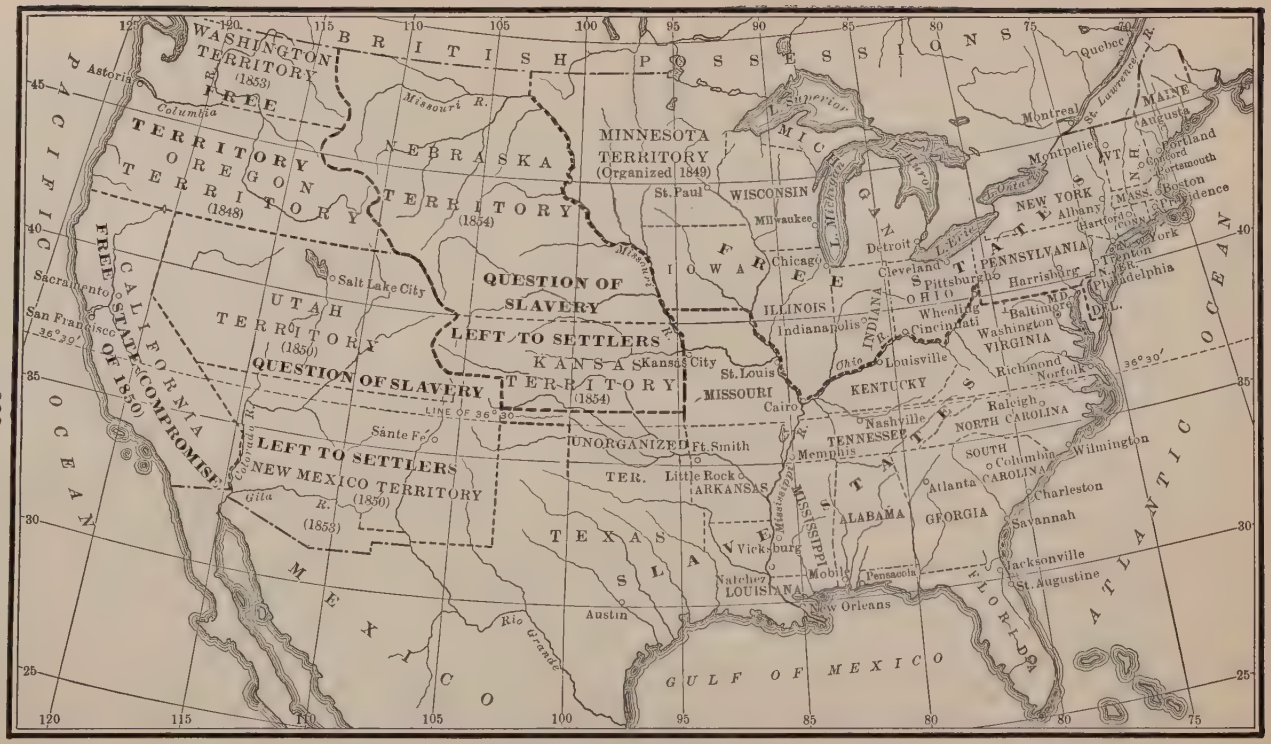
Civil War in Kansas. Kansas was now in a state of civil war. Bands of armed men marched up and down the country,

killing and robbing the settlers. Men went out to plow in companies of five or ten, armed to the teeth. "Whenever two men approached each other," says one writer, "they came up pistol in hand, and the first salutation was: Free-state or pro-slave? . . . It not unfrequently happened that the next sound was the report of a pistol." "Border ruffians" was the name applied to the unkempt but well-armed bands from Missouri. "Black Republicans" and "Abolitionists," their opponents called the free soil men from the North.

One day the town of Lawrence was attacked by the pro-slavery men, and several of its buildings burned. Three days later, a terrible revenge was taken by John Brown, a fanatical leader who believed that slavery must be wiped out in blood. At midnight his band dragged five pro-slavery men from their cabins, and butchered them in cold blood. Thus violence was met with violence, bloodshed with bloodshed. Anarchy reigned supreme throughout the territory, and "Bleeding Kansas" became the topic of the hour at the North. Popular sovereignty was not working out as Douglas had predicted.

Kansas Lost to Slavery. The conflict raged in Kansas for three years; but by 1857 it was plain that the territory was lost to slavery. The settlers from the free states largely outnumbered the pro-slavery men; and if a fair election could be held, slavery was doomed. The only hope for the slavery men was that Congress might admit Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. This was a slave constitution, drawn up by a convention which did not submit it to a popular vote. James Buchanan, who had been elected President in 1856, advised Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. Douglas boldly opposed this plan. True to his principle of popular sovereignty, the Illinois Senator denounced the Lecompton constitution as a fraud; it had not been submitted to the people of Kansas, and did not express their will.

Congress decided to submit the issue to the voters of Kansas, who rejected the Lecompton constitution by a vote of 11,000 to 1900. By this time the anti-slavery men had secured control of the territorial legislature. A new constitution prohibiting



The United States in 1854

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill threw open to slavery the formerly unorganized territory north of 36° 30′, thus making void the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

slavery was drawn up, and the vote in its favor was double that cast against it. Kansas was admitted as a free state in 1861, while the southern states were seceding from the Union.

Results of the Slavery Contest. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the fight for Kansas which it brought on, had far-reaching results:

(1) This contest sealed the doom of the Whig party. The party of Clay, Webster, and Fillmore was the party of compromise, and the day of compromise was past. Southern Whigs realized that their party could no longer be trusted to protect slavery, so they united with the Democrats. Most of the northern Whigs joined the new anti-slavery party.

(2) The Republican party was formed to oppose the extension of slavery in the territories. This party was made up of three groups. First, the northern Whigs, men like Lincoln, Seward, Wade, and Greeley, who had long been fighting the battle against slavery. Second, Free Soilers, whose campaign cry of " no more slave territory " became the slogan of the Republicans. Third, northern Democrats opposed to slavery, who broke with their party when Senator Douglas brought about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

(3) The bloodshed in Kansas, and the refusal of the North to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, showed how bitter was the feeling between the two sections. The North looked upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a breach of faith; the South pointed to Kansas as proof that the North was determined to destroy slavery. By creating mutual hatred and distrust, the Kansas struggle hastened the Civil War.

(4) The exciting events of the slavery contest roused Lincoln's political ambition, and led him to become a candidate against Douglas for the United States Senate.

First National Campaign of the Republican Party. The Republican party was organized at Jackson, Michigan, by an immense mass meeting of men opposed to the extension of slavery. They adopted the name " Republican," and invited the voters in other states to unite with them. Resolutions were adopted, the first Republican platform, declaring that slavery

was "a moral, social, and political evil." The new party waged its first presidential campaign in 1856, and it proved a most exciting contest. The struggle in Kansas was the issue. The Republicans asserted that Congress had no right to establish slavery, but that it could and ought to abolish it in the territories. Their candidate for President was John C. Frémont of California; their campaign slogan, "Free speech, free press, free soil, Fré — mont, and Victory!" The South denounced the Republican party as a sectional party, formed to destroy slavery. "If Frémont is elected," said Governor Wise of Virginia, "there will be a revolution. We will not remain in confederacy with enemies." Frémont was defeated by the Democratic candidate, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, but the Democrats did not win an easy victory. In their first national contest, the Republicans carried eleven of the sixteen free states, and cast 1,300,000 votes for their candidates.

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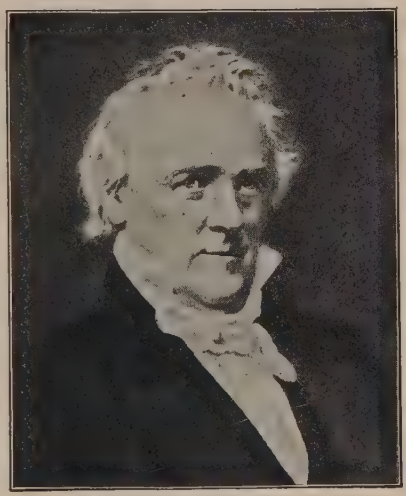
CHAPTER XXXII

THE CRISIS OF SECESSION

The Dred Scott Decision, 1857. Two days after President Buchanan was inaugurated, the Supreme Court of the United States gave its famous decision in the Dred Scott case. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose master, an army surgeon, had taken him first into Illinois, then to Minnesota Territory. In Illinois, slavery was prohibited by the Northwest Ordinance and by the state constitution; while Minnesota was in the northern part of the Louisiana Territory, from which slavery was excluded by the Missouri Compromise. After two years' residence in Minnesota, Scott was taken back to Missouri. Many years afterwards, he brought suit in the Missouri courts to recover his freedom on the ground that his residence in free territory had made him a free man. Defeated in the Missouri court, Scott carried his case to the Supreme Court of the United States for final decision.



James Buchanan

Two important questions were passed upon by that tribunal. First, could a negro whose ancestors had been sold as slaves become a citizen of Missouri? To this question, the answer of the court was "no." The negro, said Chief Justice Taney, could not

possibly become a citizen, for the Constitution was not intended to apply to any but the white race. When the Constitution was adopted, negroes were considered "so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Since Dred Scott was not a citizen, he could not bring suit in the United States Court.

The Missouri Compromise Held Unconstitutional. The case was now really disposed of; but hoping to settle the slavery dispute for all time, the court declared that Congress had no right to exclude slavery from the territories. Hence the Missouri Compromise was null and void. The slaveholder had a right to take his slaves into any territory of the United States and hold them as slaves, in spite of any law of Congress or of the territory. Slaves were property, the same as horses and mules; and ownership of property was guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Hence the slaveholder had the same right to take his property into Minnesota or Kansas that the northern settler had to take his live stock there.

The decision in this case was a staggering blow to the North. The Republican party had been formed to oppose the extension of slavery into the territories. The decision cut the ground from under its feet, for it opened every territory in the United States to slavery. "What are you going to do about it?" was the taunt of the delighted South. Apparently, the highest court of the land had raised up a mighty bulwark for slavery. The Republicans attacked the decision as an outrage upon history and justice. Abraham Lincoln declared: "If I were in Congress, and a vote were to come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should." Instead of settling the slavery issue, the Dred Scott decision added fresh fuel to the flame.

Lincoln's Campaign against Douglas. The state of Illinois was the scene in 1858 of one of the most exciting political campaigns in our history. Stephen A. Douglas, the foremost leader of the Democratic party, was a candidate for reëlection to the United States Senate. To oppose Douglas, the Republi-

cans nominated Abraham Lincoln, a man as yet almost unknown outside of his own state. At first the contest seemed an unequal one. Douglas was a leader of national reputation, a man of attractive personality, a brilliant debater who had seldom met his equal in the Senate or before a popular audience. Lincoln was loved and trusted by his neighbors, but he had no such hold on the voters of Illinois as the "Little Giant" had at that time. But in Lincoln's favor was his earnest sincerity, his homely illustrations that every one understood, his power to state a truth so clearly that it carried conviction to the hearts of his hearers. Whatever the voter might think of Lincoln's views, he knew that he was listening to an honest man. Lincoln had been elected to Congress eleven years before, and was there distinguished for his anti-slavery views and for his sound judgment and frank statement on all public questions.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. Soon after the campaign began, Lincoln challenged Douglas to debate the issues before the voters of Illinois. Douglas accepted the challenge, and seven joint debates were arranged. The meetings were held in the open air, for no hall could hold the thousands of eager listeners. In his speech accepting the Republican nomination, Lincoln had declared against the extension of slavery into the territories. Even his friends were startled when he said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

Douglas replied that Lincoln's "house divided" doctrine meant a war of sections, the North against the South, free states against slave states. Each candidate prepared a list of questions for his opponent to answer. One of Lincoln's questions put Douglas in a position where he must answer either to satisfy the Illinois voters and offend the South, or to please the South and lose Illinois. This question was: "Can the people of a territory exclude slavery before the formation of a state constitution?" Douglas said that the people of a territory could exclude slavery by passing "unfriendly" laws against it, or by

failing to adopt measures to protect it. Douglas could not have been elected Senator had he answered in any other way; but from the moment he made this statement, the South looked upon him as a traitor. Some of Lincoln's friends thought that he was making a mistake by proposing this question. "I am after larger game," he told them; "if Douglas answers as you say he will, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

The whirlwind campaign at last drew to a close. Douglas made one hundred and thirty speeches in three months, Lincoln almost as many. The "Little Giant" won the senatorship, but his victory cost him the greater prize of the presidency. The Lincoln-Douglas debates were published in book form, and were read all over the Union. Slowly but surely, Lincoln's speeches began to lift him into recognition as a national leader. "I am glad I made the late race," he wrote to a friend. "It gave me a hearing on the great question of the age, which I could have had in no other way. Though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone."

John Brown's Raid. In October, 1859, an event known as John Brown's Raid helped to widen the breach between the two sections. Outlawed from Kansas, John Brown next planned to lead an armed expedition against the South. This strange man believed that he had a divine commission to destroy slavery by whatever means necessary. His friends tried to show him the folly of invading the state of Virginia with a handful of followers; but Brown was confident that the slaves would flock to his standard in a general revolt against their masters. With a force of only eighteen men, this mad crusader made a sudden midnight attack upon the Virginia village of Harper's Ferry. After seizing the railroad bridge, Brown took possession of the United States arsenal, where he held several citizens as hostages. No slaves rallied to use the thousand pikes that Brown had brought with him. A company of soldiers under Colonel Robert E. Lee surrounded the arsenal, and after a brief, heroic resistance, Brown and his few men were captured. Convicted of treason and

murder after a fair trial, the old man went to the gallows firm in the belief that he had obeyed God's will.

The South was alarmed at this attempt to excite a slave insurrection, and angered because Brown had been aided with arms and money by a few misguided men at the North. But the abolitionists gloried in the challenge to slavery uttered by Brown as he lay a captive, bleeding and helpless, but unafraid. "I want you to understand," he said to a newspaper reporter, "that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of the colored people oppressed by the slave system, just as much as I do those of the most wealthy and powerful. . . . I wish to say, furthermore, that you had better, all you people at the South, prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question that must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it. The sooner you are prepared the better. You may dispose of me very easily. I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled, this negro question, I mean; the end of that is not yet."

Slavery Divides the Democratic Party. Who should be chosen as the standard bearer of the Democratic party in the presidential campaign of 1860? "Douglas!" was the enthusiastic reply of the northern delegates in the national convention which met at Charleston, South Carolina. But the radical delegates from the South would not accept Douglas, even on a platform pledging the party to support the Dred Scott decision. They demanded more — the Democratic party must declare it the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the territories. When this proposal was voted down, the delegates from six southern states left the convention. Fifty-seven ballots were taken, but Douglas could not secure the two-thirds vote necessary for the nomination. So the convention adjourned, to meet at Baltimore about two months later. At Baltimore, there was a second secession of delegates from the slave states; those who remained named Douglas as their candidate. Ten days later, the seceding delegates held a convention of their own, and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, on a pro-slavery platform.

The Republicans Nominate Lincoln. The Republican convention met at Chicago in the "Wigwam," a huge board

Abraham Lincoln

From the statue in Lincoln Park, Chicago, by Augustus St. Gaudens.

The President has just risen from his chair as if to address a multitude. Lost in thought at the moment of speaking, he reveals his strength and simplicity of character, his tenderness, goodness, and courage; his intellectual confidence and humility of soul, and the serene dignity of the nation's Chief Executive.

structure put up for the occasion, with seats for twelve thousand persons. Chicago had never seen such throngs of visitors as on the day that the convention met. Marching along behind their band were the Seward men, one thousand strong, each wearing a long silk badge adorned with a portrait of the New York Senator. They were confident of victory and with good reason; for Seward was the foremost leader in the Republican party, and had the support of more delegates than any other candidate. Against Seward's nomination was the strong probability that he could not be elected. The delegates from Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey said plainly that Seward could not possibly carry those doubtful states; and without them, there could be no Republican victory. Seward had been the bitter, outspoken foe of slavery; they pleaded for a less radical candidate, one with fewer political enemies. The convention adopted a platform which denounced the southern threats of secession, and denied the power of Congress, or of a territorial legislature, to establish slavery in any territory.

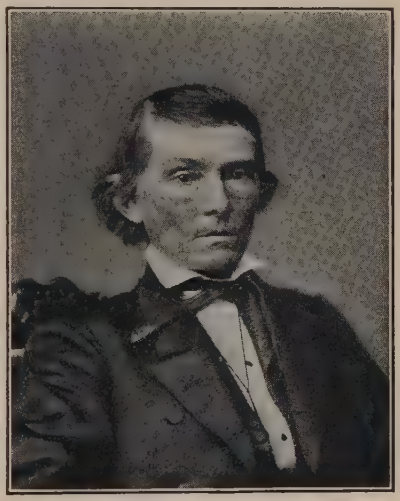
On the third day of the convention every seat in the wigwam was filled, and eager thousands stood waiting in the streets outside for the first news of the balloting. A storm of applause swept over the hall when Seward's name was placed before the convention, but a greater demonstration came when Illinois presented her choice, Abraham Lincoln. Other states named their favorite sons, but it was evident that the real contest lay between Seward and Lincoln. On the first and second ballots, Seward had more votes than any other candidate, but not a majority of the delegates. On the third ballot, Lincoln led Seward by fifty votes; one moment later, four Ohio delegates changed their votes from Chase to Lincoln, giving him a clear majority. A tumult of huzzas shook the wigwam, while a cannon fired from the roof above started the cheering of the waiting thousands down the long Chicago streets. The Republican party had placed its hopes of victory on the rail-splitter candidate, the man beloved by the common people, "honest Abe Lincoln" of Illinois.

The Election of 1860. A fourth set of candidates was nominated by the Constitutional Union party, a group of conservative men who feared the radical elements in both North and South. John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts were their candidates. Their platform was: "No political principles other than the Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Laws." The split in the Charleston convention doomed the Democratic party to defeat, but Douglas made a splendid campaign in what he knew was a hopeless contest. At the South he pleaded not for his own election, but against the threatened secession if Lincoln should be chosen. When the exciting campaign closed and the returns were counted, it was found that Lincoln had won the victory. Of the 303 electoral votes, he received 180, carrying every northern state except New Jersey. Douglas had only twelve electoral votes, three from New Jersey, and nine from Missouri. Bell carried Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, while the rest of the South voted for Breckinridge. The North had elected its candidate on a platform against slavery. What would be the answer of the South?

Secession of South Carolina and the Cotton States. South Carolina quickly made reply. Four days after the election of Lincoln, her legislature voted that a convention should be elected to decide the question of secession. On December 20, 1860, this convention passed an ordinance of secession, "dissolving" the union between South Carolina and the other states. The reasons given for this action were: the laws passed by thirteen of the northern states, intended to nullify the Fugitive Slave Act of Congress; the establishment of abolition societies throughout the North; encouraging the slaves to escape or rebel; the election by one section of a candidate who had said that "this government cannot endure half slave and half free"; and the declared intention of the North to exclude slavery from the common territory.

The news of the secession ordinance was received with wild delight by the people of South Carolina. The city of Charleston was decked with palmetto flags; while parades and bonfires,

the booming of cannon and the pealing of bells, greeted the announcement that South Carolina claimed to be an independent commonwealth. The other cotton states hastened to follow this example. By February 1, 1861, ordinances of secession were adopted by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. In most of these states, public opinion ran strongly in favor of secession; but in all of them there were staunch friends of the Union. In Georgia, the brilliant Alexander H. Stephens tried in vain to hold back his state from secession. Stephens believed that the South could secure redress for its grievances in the Union. "Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution, let not the South commit the aggression."



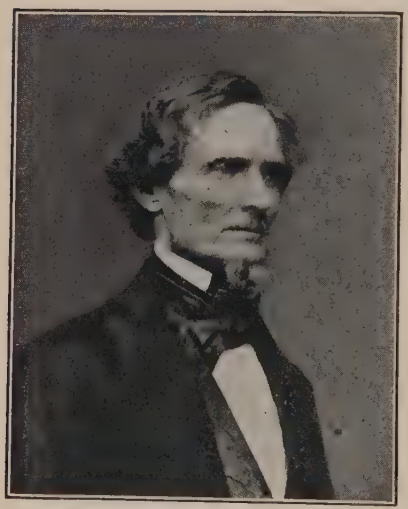
Alexander H. Stephens

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

The Confederate States of America. Delegates from the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and adopted a constitution for the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice President. Montgomery was chosen as the temporary capital, and Davis was duly inaugurated, February 18, 1861. He appointed a Cabinet, and sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate for a peaceful separation. Meantime, the Confederate Congress voted that "immediate steps should be taken to obtain possession of Forts Sumter and Pickens, either by negotiations or force."

Buchanan the Irresolute. In this crisis of our national life, well might the friends of the Union exclaim: "O, for one hour of Andrew Jackson!" Old Hickory would have struck at

secession without a moment's delay. But President Buchanan was a timid, irresolute old man, under the influence of the southern members of his Cabinet. Instead of sending troops and supplies to relieve Fort Sumter, the President sent a long message to Congress. No state, he argued, had a right to secede from the Union; but neither Congress nor the President had power to coerce a state. "Buchanan's message," replied Seward, "showed that it is the duty of the President to execute the laws — unless somebody opposes him; and that no state has a right to secede — unless it wants to."



Jefferson Davis

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

The Crittenden Compromise. While Buchanan continued inactive, several plans for a peaceful compromise were brought forward in Congress. The most important was the Crittenden Compromise, introduced by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky. The chief features of this plan were: (1) The Missouri Compromise line was to be extended to the Pacific. Territory north of that line was to be free, territory south of it to be slave. (2) When any territory, north or south, became a state, it was to have slavery or not, as its people wished. (3) The United States was to pay the owners the full value of fugitive slaves, in case of interference with their arrest. (4) No constitutional amendment was ever to be made changing these provisions, or giving Congress power to interfere with slavery in any state.

These proposals were referred to a committee of thirteen Senators, including Crittenden, Douglas, Davis, and Seward. The Republican members would not agree to open the ter-

ritories to slavery, and so the Crittenden Compromise ended in failure. Against the compromise, too, was the President-elect, Abraham Lincoln. He would not abandon the principle of freedom in the territories, the platform on which his party had won in a fair election. "Entertain no proposition," he wrote, "for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over again. . . . Have none of it. The tug has to come, and better now than later."

Failure of the Peace Convention. Union-loving Virginia had led the way in forming the Constitution, and now Virginia made an earnest effort to prevent its overthrow. Her legislature invited the other states to send delegates to a convention at Washington. Fourteen free and seven slave states were represented, and the members did all that earnest, patriotic men could do to save the country from Civil War. The proposals of the peace convention were similar to the Crittenden Compromise, although not quite so favorable to the South. But the work of the convention was in vain, for Congress rejected its plan of compromise. Every effort for peace and conciliation had ended in failure; there remained only the appeal to arms.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Growth in Area and Population. During the period from 1789 to the outbreak of the Civil War, our country had a wonderful growth. When Washington became President, about four million people were living in the thirteen states. During the next seventy years, the United States annexed two million square miles of territory, stretching from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast. In 1860, our area was three times as large as in 1790, our population eight times as great. The beginning of the Civil War found 32,000,000 people in the thirty-three states of the Union.

The Westward Movement. Meantime, the center of population had moved steadily westward from a point near Baltimore in 1790, to a point south of Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1860. This westward movement began before the Revolution was over. Kentucky and Tennessee, the first fruits of its progress, became states during Washington's presidency. Soon the Northwest Territory was peopled with sturdy pioneers, and carved into five new states; next the Mississippi Valley became the home of millions of settlers; while later years saw the hardy "Forty-Niners" pushing westward across the Rockies to found California and Oregon, our first states on the Pacific slope. This westward movement, the march of a people across the continent, is the greatest single fact in our history from the Revolution to the Civil War.

To encourage the rapid development of the West, public lands were sold to settlers at a nominal price, while immense tracts were given away in aid of education, railroads, and other internal improvements. Finally, in 1862 Congress passed an act granting a free homestead to any settler who would reside on his

Harvesting with the Cradle

McCormick's First Successful Reaper — 1831

A Modern Harvester-Thresher with Oil Tractor

Progress in Methods of Harvesting

Courtesy of the International Harvester Company of America.

"claim" and cultivate it for a period of five years. This abundance of cheap, fertile land attracted thousands of settlers from the East, and drew thousands more from the crowded countries of Europe. It was the chief reason for an agricultural development which became the marvel of the world.

New Agricultural Machines. Besides cheap land, the western pioneer was aided by new agricultural machines. By 1825, the farmer had cast aside the clumsy plow of colonial days, and was using the cast-iron plow. Until the invention of the McCormick reaper in 1831, grain had been cut with a sickle or a cradle, and raked with a hand rake. By working hard with these tools, the farmer could cut and rake one acre of grain in a day. The new reaper could do the work of about ten men. About this time, too, the threshing machine was invented, which could thresh out more grain in half an hour than a man with a flail could beat out in a week. There were also new machines for cultivating and tilling the soil, cultivators, horse hoers, and seed drills, which made it possible for the farmer to substitute animal power for hand labor.

With these labor-saving machines, and with a boundless supply of fertile soil, agriculture increased by leaps and bounds. In 1840, the value of our agricultural products was one billion dollars; while twenty years later, they were worth nearly two billions. Cotton was by far the most valuable crop. The South raised seven eighths of the world's supply of cotton in 1860, and also led the world in the production of tobacco. In the West, wheat, corn, and live stock were the chief products. These were shipped down the Mississippi to the southern plantations which raised only staple crops, cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar. So at the outbreak of the Civil War, the West was rapidly becoming the granary of the world, the South was raising cotton and tobacco, while only in New England and the Middle States had manufacturing developed to any extent.

King Cotton and Slavery. In the South, the cotton belt shifted during the first half of the century. Three fourths of our cotton was raised in Virginia and the Carolinas in 1800; while in 1860, two thirds of the crop came from Georgia, Ala-

bama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Nine tenths of the cotton of the South was raised by slaves working on large plantations. Slave labor seemed well suited to cotton raising, for this crop required few tools and only routine work. So the value of slaves rose with the increased demand for cotton. In 1860 nearly three times as much cotton was produced as in 1840, while the price of a good field hand rose from $500 to $1500.

As a rule, slave labor was ignorant, clumsy, and wasteful. Since fear was the only motive for labor, the slave usually put forth only as much effort as was necessary to avoid a flogging. The slaves were probably not one half as efficient as the free laborers of the North. Then, too, their ignorance prevented the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Throughout the South, wasteful methods of farming were the rule. The planters would raise crop after crop of cotton, and when one piece of land was exhausted, a new piece would be taken up. Such a system required an unlimited supply of new and fertile land, a fact which explains the constant demand of the South for more slave territory. This method of cropping the land resulted in a rapid exhaustion of the soil, and every southern state had enormous tracts of worn-out and abandoned cotton lands.

Thus while the northern farmer was using new machinery and new methods, slave labor prevented anything like scientific farming at the South. There was no rotation of crops, little use of fertilizers to prevent exhaustion of the soil, an absence of improved live stock, machinery, fences, and silos. Large plantations were the rule, managed by hired overseers who tried to grow as much cotton as possible, without reference to the future. The planter lived the life of an aristocratic gentleman; and the profits from his cotton crop, instead of going to improve the soil, went into the purchase of more lands and more slaves.

The Poor Whites of the South. Not the least of the evils of slavery was its effect upon the white population of the South. Until the invention of the gin, white farmers raised most of the cotton crop. After that invention, cotton culture spread to the more fertile lands of Alabama and Mississippi. The large plantation with its slave labor competed successfully with the small

farm and finally supplanted it, just as factory production drove out domestic production at the North. The small farmer then retreated to the poorer lands, where he grew a few acres of cotton, raised some live stock, or engaged in mixed farming. Slavery degraded free labor, so that the poor whites of the South were despised alike by slave owners and by negroes. "Crackers" and "Clay-eaters" were terms of contempt applied by the aristocratic slave owner; "poor white trash," the negroes called them.

These poor whites of the South were almost as ignorant as the slaves. They farmed the worn-out lands, and eked out a miserable existence. They looked upon the large slave owners with feelings of sullen envy; yet when election day came, the whites who were without money and without slaves did the bidding of the lord of the plantation. The slaveholders took the political offices; the man who worked with his hands was seldom chosen to represent the South in the halls of Congress. The southern political system was really a government of the few, maintained by and for the slaveholders. The poor whites who fought so bravely in the Confederate armies were fighting to preserve an institution in whose benefits they could not possibly share, and which doomed them to ignorance and poverty.

How Slavery Hurt the South. In many other ways, slavery was working harm to the South. It prevented the growth of its population. The population of the North and the South was almost equal in 1800; but in 1860, the North had 19,000,000 people, the South about 12,000,000. Political troubles in Europe and the discovery of gold in California brought large numbers of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Germans to the United States. In the decade from 1850 to 1860, nearly three million of these immigrants entered our country. The newcomers avoided the South, for they would not compete with slave labor. They peopled the great industrial cities of the North, they took up farms in the Middle West, they mined its coal, built its railroads, and developed the resources of that section. The South was rich in natural resources, in deposits of iron and

coal, in timber and water supply, but these resources were undeveloped before the Civil War. Slave labor could not develop them, and free labor would not, while slavery existed. Thus slavery confined the industry of the South to agriculture, and prevented the development of its natural resources, at the very time when free labor was making the North a great industrial region.

Improved Means of Communication. The rapid settlement of the West was made possible only by improving our early means of transportation. The turnpike, the canal, and the railroad each mark a stage in the history of transportation. The turnpike belongs to the period between the Revolution and the War of 1812. Next came the era of the canals, from 1816 to 1850. Then came the age of railroad building; the 9000 miles of track in 1850 were increased to 30,000 in 1860. When the Civil War broke out, the railroads were carrying two thirds of our total inland trade, with an immense saving in the cost of transportation. The new railway lines made it possible for western farms to feed the city dwellers of the East. New York City grew from 30,000 people in 1840 to 800,000 in 1860. Philadelphia came second with a population of over half a million. Then followed, in order, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, New Orleans, and Cincinnati. The number of city dwellers doubled between 1840 and 1860, while the number of cities increased from forty-four to one hundred and forty-one.

The railroad was not the only improved means of communication. The telegraph line first operated by Morse in 1844 had grown by 1860 into a network of 50,000 miles of wire, connecting all the cities of the country. Our postal system was improved and extended, the rate on letters being reduced in 1850 to three cents. A new process of manufacturing paper from wood pulp, together with the invention of the cylinder press, made possible the cheap newspaper of the present day.

Spread of the Factory System. After the War of 1812, American manufactures grew steadily. The household method of production with its spinning wheel, its hand loom, and its household forge, became a thing of the past. Factory pro-

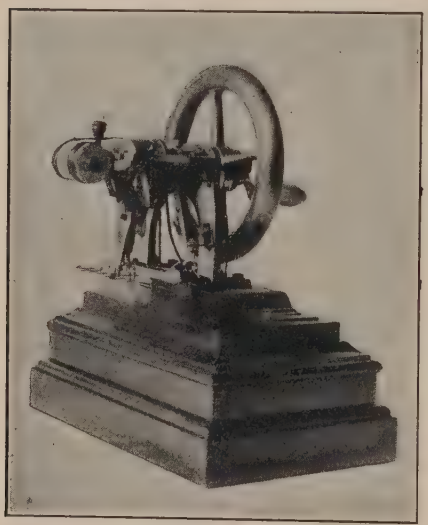
duction, which began with Slater's first mill and Lowell's factory at Waltham, made rapid headway. First developed in the cotton and woolen industries, the factory system spread rapidly to other employments. Leather tanneries, silk and paper mills, flour, grist, and sawmills, iron factories, sugar refineries, establishments for the manufacture of boots and shoes, of clothing, hardware, and agricultural implements, — all were operated under the new plan. The factory system became the most important industrial event of the century. Its chief results were: (1) An immense increase in production, at a greatly reduced cost. (2) The employment of women and children whose labor had been almost entirely in the home, but who now abandoned the household crafts, and followed the industries into the factories. (3) The creation of a laboring class, as distinct from the class of employers. (4) The growth of factory towns and industrial cities.

Growth of American Manufactures. Our first iron factories used charcoal for smelting. As the forests were cut down and wood became less plentiful, the cost of production kept increasing. About 1840, a new invention made possible the substitution of anthracite coal for charcoal. This change revolutionized the iron industry. Rolled iron, and iron rails for our railroads, were made in this country for the first time. By 1860, our iron factories were turning out each year products worth $90,000,000. Equally important was the progress made in the manufacture of machinery, agricultural implements, and hardware, industries which depend upon iron production.

Thus while agriculture was our chief industry in 1860, manufacturing was a close rival. In that year, the total value of the farm products of the United States was $1,910,000,000, while manufactured products were worth $1,885,000,000. Manufacturing was largely centered in three states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, which together produced over one half of all our manufactures.

The Mining Industry. This development of manufactures was aided by the discovery of immense mines of coal, gas, oil, copper, and the precious metals. The wealth of our gold and

silver deposits surpassed even the dreams of the early Spanish explorers. During the years from 1850 to 1865, California mines yielded $761,000,000 worth of gold. Rich copper mines were discovered on the shores of Lake Superior, and by 1860 the United States had become the largest producer of copper in the world. Petroleum or crude oil was discovered at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859; soon fifty million gallons of oil were being produced annually from wells in different parts of the country, beginning another of our great industries.



Elias Howe's Sewing Machine, 1846

From the inventor's model in the National Museum, Washington. This was the first machine having an eye-pointed needle and shuttle, making a lock stitch.

Inventions and Industrial Progress. Our great industrial progress was due largely to the American genius for invention. Congress provided in 1790 for patents giving to inventors the exclusive right to make, use, and sell their inventions for fourteen (now seventeen) years. During the half century before 1860, nearly 40,000 patents were granted. We have seen how invention aided agriculture, and how the power loom built up the textile industries. Another invention with far-reaching results was the sewing machine, the product of the genius of Elias Howe (1846). The sewing machine was directly responsible for the growth of two of our chief industries, ready-made clothing, and the boot and shoe industry.

The quarter century from 1815 to 1840 was the golden age of American invention and mechanical progress. "It was during this period that fire bricks, paper made from hay and straw, pen-

knives, axles, chisels, and edged tools were first manufactured in our country; that boards were first planed by machine; that Fairbanks invented the platform scales; that ether was discovered; that Howe made and sold the first lock stitch sewing machine; that Morse invented the recording telegraph; that steel pens and friction matches came into use; that Colt invented the revolver; that the reaper was given its first public trial; that the art of burning anthracite coal was discovered; that the railroad was introduced and the steamboat greatly developed; that omnibuses appeared in the large cities; that steam navigation of the Atlantic began; that schemes of all sorts were considered, and attempts made to build a canal across Panama."

Commerce and Shipping. During the early years of the Republic, our foreign trade was in a flourishing condition. For twenty years following 1793, the Napoleonic wars occupied the energies of Europe. Meantime the United States, as a neutral country, secured a large part of the world's carrying trade. But in 1807, the British and French decrees, followed by our own Embargo Act, destroyed this profitable trade. The War of 1812, while an aid to our manufactures, was almost as disastrous to our commerce as the Embargo Act. Not until 1830 did our foreign trade begin to recover. About this time, American shipbuilders developed a new type of sailing vessel, superior to all competitors. This was the clipper ship, which soon gave the United States first place in the ocean-carrying trade. So superior in construction and speed were these ships that they could make three trips to England in the time that a British vessel was making two. Our total tonnage engaged in foreign trade grew from 760,000 tons in 1840 to 2,500,000 in 1861. In 1840 our total foreign trade was $220,000,000 a year; twenty years later, it had expanded to nearly $700,000,000. In the first half of the nineteenth century, our imports far exceeded the value of our exports; by 1860 we were selling to other countries almost as much as we bought from them.

The supremacy of the American sailing vessel came to an end with a new development in the shipbuilding industry. This

was the change from wooden sailing vessels to iron ships propelled by steam. British shipyards at once took the lead in constructing iron steamships, while our shipbuilders clung to the older type of vessel. So Great Britain won back her supremacy as the ocean carrier of the world, while our shipping began to decline. Only sixty-five per cent of our foreign trade was carried in American ships in 1861, as compared with ninety-two per cent in the early years of the century.

"**The Impending Crisis in the South.**" In all this industrial and commercial prosperity, the South, as her secession leaders said, had but small share. They found the reason in the fact that the North would not permit the extension of slavery; in fact, it was slavery itself that was preventing the growth of the South. Just before the Civil War, Hinton Helper, a poor white of North Carolina, wrote a book which stirred the whole country. *The Impending Crisis in the South, How to Meet It*, contrasted the economic results of slavery and freedom. Helper pointed out that when the Constitution was adopted, the population of New York was 340,000, that of Virginia 740,000; while sixty years later, New York had 3,000,000 people, Virginia only 1,400,000. In 1791 the exports of New York were $2,500,000, those of Virginia $3,100,000; in 1852, New York's exports totaled $87,000,000, while those of Virginia were only $2,700,000.

Helper urged the whites of the South who did not own slaves to form a political party of their own and work for the abolition of the institution which was throttling the growth of their section. "And now, sirs, we have thus laid down our ultimatum. What are you going to do about it? Something dreadful, of course. Perhaps you will dissolve the Union again. Do it, if you dare! Our motto, and we would have you to understand it, is 'the abolition of slavery and the perpetuation of the American Union.' If by any means you do succeed in your treasonable attempts to take the South out of the Union to-day, we will bring her back to-morrow."

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Gettysburg — the High Tide of the Confederacy

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE APPEAL TO ARMS

The Union or State Rights. Could a state at its own pleasure withdraw from the Union? This was the fateful issue raised by the secession ordinances of the seven cotton states which in February, 1861, invited the other slave states to join their new government. The threat of secession had been heard on more than one occasion in our history; and the South in 1861 only did what the New England secessionists had threatened during the War of 1812.

On account of its institution of slavery, the South still clung to the early view of the Constitution as a compact from which any state might withdraw if it chose. This was the doctrine of Calhoun, and it was accepted by the great majority of the southern people. Historically, there was much to justify this view of the Constitution; but with the lapse of years, a strong Union sentiment had sprung up at the North. President Jackson's bold stand against nullification in 1832 had given the North its watchword: "The federal Union, it must be preserved." Webster's eloquent appeal in his debate with Hayne crystallized northern sentiment in favor of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable." Now, as the southern states were seizing the Union customhouses and other national property, General John A. Dix contributed a third burning phrase, worthy of a place beside those of Jackson and Webster: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!" By 1861 most northern men believed with Webster that the Union was permanent and enduring; and the great majority of them were ready to fight for their belief. Equally sincere were the Southerners, who tried to establish their view of the Constitu-

tion as a compact between equal partners, from which any dissatisfied member might withdraw.

Lincoln and the Compromise Proposals. With the failure of the Crittenden Compromise and the Peace Convention, the whole country, North and South, looked toward Lincoln. That firm and tactful leader refused to make any statement which might embarrass Buchanan in the last months of his presidential term. To the questions asked him, Lincoln would only reply that his position would be found in his former speeches. But in a letter to Senator Seward, the President-elect made it plain that he would support no compromise based on additional slave territory. "On that question," said he, "I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation." However, Lincoln was ready to approve a constitutional amendment guaranteeing that there should be no interference with slavery in the states where it was already established.

Lincoln Prepares to Take Office. Locking himself in an upstairs room over a store opposite the statehouse at Springfield, Lincoln began to write his inaugural address. He had before him as his authorities a copy of the federal Constitution, Henry Clay's speech of 1850, Jackson's proclamation against nullification, and Webster's reply to Hayne. As the time for the inauguration drew near, Lincoln bade a last farewell to his old friends and neighbors, and started on his journey to the national capital. He believed that the task before him "was greater than that which rested upon Washington"; but this untried man from Illinois was destined to prove himself equal to the gravest crisis in our history. When he reached Philadelphia, Lincoln told the country in his speech at Independence Hall: "There will be no bloodshed unless it is forced upon the government. The government will not use force unless force is used against it."

The Inaugural Address. In spite of threats and predictions to the contrary, nothing occurred to interrupt the inauguration at Washington. Lincoln's voice rang out clear as he delivered his address to the anxious and attentive crowd before the east front

of the Capitol. Close at his side was a man whom he had often met on the platform in fierce debate, but who now sat attentive and friendly, holding Lincoln's hat. It was Stephen A. Douglas, his defeated rival, giving notice to every one that he proposed to stand by the President. By his stanch attitude in this dark hour, the " Little Giant " did much to rally the Democrats of the North in loyal support of the Union.

On the two great issues of slavery and secession, Lincoln stated his position clearly and firmly. " I have no purpose," said he, " directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." On the question of secession it was no longer the irresolute Buchanan who spoke. " No state," said Lincoln, " can lawfully get out of the Union; resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void. To the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states." The President closed with a touching appeal which awakened no response at the South. " Physically speaking, we cannot separate. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it."

Lincoln's War Cabinet. President Lincoln chose William H. Seward of New York as his Secretary of State. Senator Seward was regarded by many people, including himself, as the real head of the Republican party; and he confidently expected to be the power behind the throne in the new administration. The position of Secretary of the Treasury went to Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, who represented the radical Republicans of the Middle West. Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania was made Secretary of War, but within a year was replaced by Edwin M. Stanton, a Union Democrat who had been a bitter personal enemy of Lincoln. New England was recognized by the ap-

pointment of Gideon Welles of Connecticut as Secretary of the Navy. The Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair of Maryland, and the Attorney-General, Edward Bates of Missouri, voiced the loyal sentiment of the border states. Lincoln aimed to have his Cabinet represent all the different elements of public opinion that wished to preserve the Union. So he included moderate and radical Republicans, War Democrats, and loyal

Lincoln's War Cabinet

From left to right: Edwin M. Stanton, Salmon P. Chase, President Lincoln, Gideon Welles, William H. Seward (seated), Caleb Smith, Montgomery Blair, and Edward Bates.

border state men. No Southerners were appointed, although the President was urged to name at least one.

It was a strong, though unruly cabinet; but it was dominated by a still stronger personality. When Secretary Seward urged upon Lincoln his absurd scheme of foreign war as a means of saving the country from disunion, the President quietly overruled him. More remarkable still was his taming of Stanton, that human dynamo who terrorized every one except his chief. "Mister President, I refuse to execute this order." "Well, Mister Secretary, I reckon it will have to be done." And done it always was.

The Attack on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861. The first test as to whether the government was to keep possession of the national property located in the South was not long delayed. By the first of April, 1861, nearly all of the forts, arsenals, customhouses, and post offices in the seceding states had passed into the hands of the Confederates. Only Fort Sumter, guarding the mouth of the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Florida, remained in possession of the Union.

When Lincoln was inaugurated, Major Robert Anderson with eighty men was still holding Fort Sumter, although in desperate

Fort Sumter after the Bombardment

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

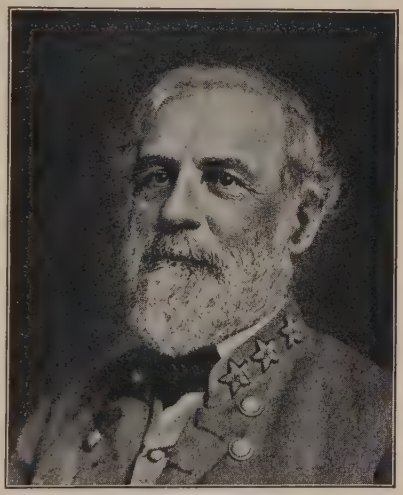
need of reinforcements and food. "What shall be done about Sumter?" became the question of the hour at Washington. Should the federal troops be withdrawn as demanded by the Confederate authorities, or should the garrison be reinforced? President Lincoln decided to send food and supplies to Sumter; but before the relief ships could reach Charleston, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate government, gave the order to capture the fort. On the morning of April 12, the Charleston batteries opened fire. Major Anderson and his little band of men were able to hold out about thirty-six hours, when fire broke out within the fort and he was obliged to surrender. After saluting his flag with fifty guns, Anderson embarked his men on the relief ships which had arrived during the bombardment, but which could not reach the fort. The South had made the first attack; what would be the answer of the North?

The Call to Arms. Bewildered at the action of the seceding states, the North at first refused to believe that they would really carry out their program. A few " peace at any price " men urged that if the southern states were in earnest, the Union was not worth a war. " Let the erring sisters go in peace," was for a time the advice of Horace Greeley in the influential *New York Tribune*. Garrison and other abolitionists at first expressed joy at the prospect of the destruction of a Union which permitted slavery. But the attack upon Fort Sumter united the North as nothing else could have done in defense of the Union. When President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months, the drums beat in every town, and the rush to arms was universal. Within a day after Lincoln's call, the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts mustered on Boston Common and started for Washington. On April 19, the Massachusetts regiment reached Baltimore, where it was fired upon by a mob of southern sympathizers; and here, on the anniversary of Lexington, the first blood was shed in the Civil War. But the Sixth Massachusetts pushed on to Washington, and prepared to defend the capital against sudden attack.

No less loyal were the recently arrived immigrants. Out of the eastern cities came the Irish, from the western cities the Germans, all inspired with the spirit of liberty and nationality. Ninety thousand men responded to the first call, and within a month, the President asked for 42,000 more volunteers for a term of three years. As soon as possible, the regular army was increased by 23,000 men, while 18,000 were enlisted for the navy. From this time on the Union army grew, until at the close of the war it numbered more than one million men.

The Border States. Lincoln sent his call for troops to all the states that had not seceded. He met with open defiance from six of the slaveholding states still in the Union, while Maryland and Delaware took a middle ground. Meantime, President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy issued a call for 100,000 volunteers, and prepared to follow up the blow struck at Sumter. It was plain that all the states south of Mason and Dixon's line would have to fight on one side or the other. Arkansas,

Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee joined the Confederacy between April and June, 1861, bringing the number of seceding states up to eleven. With the secession of Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy was moved to Richmond. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were saved for the Union by Lincoln's vigorous action. But there were many southern sympathizers in these states; and at least 125,000 of their citizens served in the Confederate armies.



Robert E. Lee

"Long did he save the South from defeat, and forever from reproach."

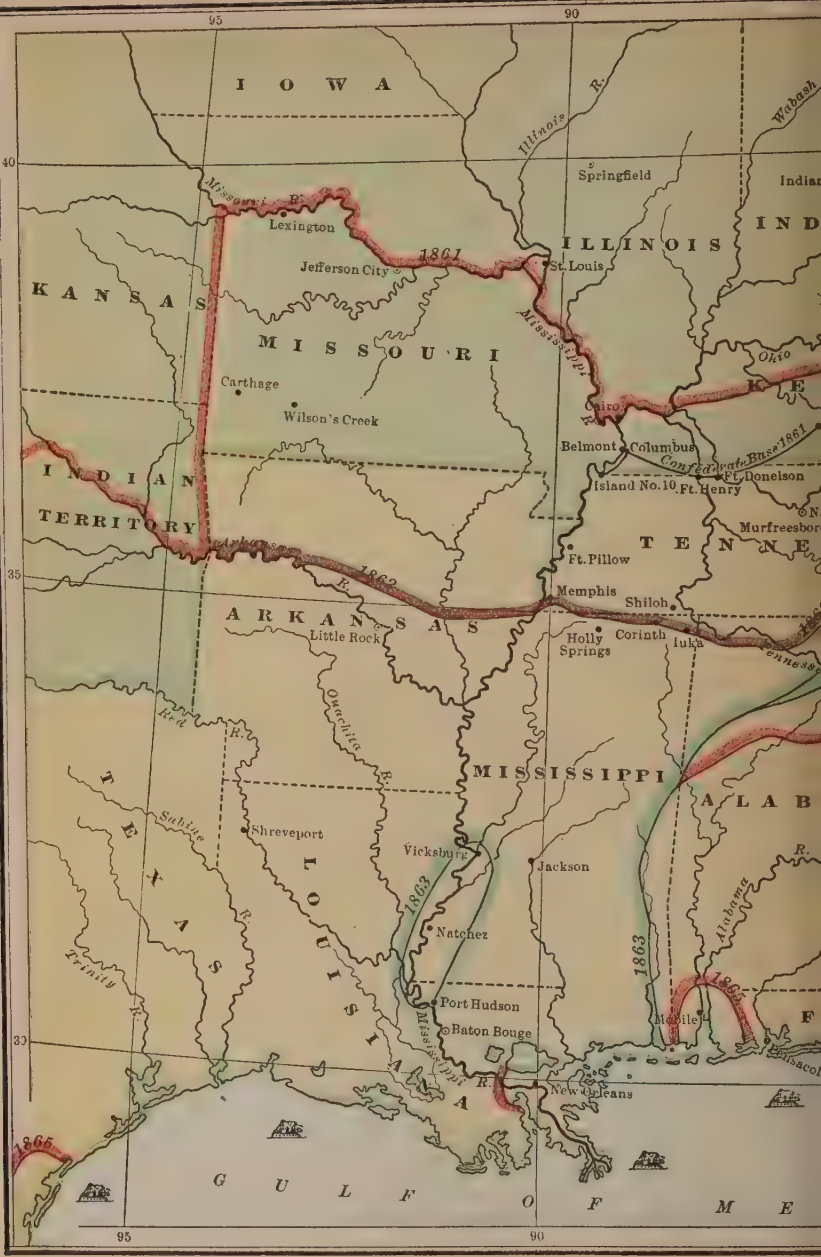
The secession of the four border states was a serious blow to the Union cause; and a misfortune equally great was the loss of one man who now gave up his command in the federal army, and threw in his lot with Virginia, his native state. A son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee of the Revolution, Colonel Robert E. Lee of the First Cavalry was regarded as the ablest officer in the Unites States Army. Lee's character was as noble and lofty as his military ability was great. He was reluctant to accept the idea of secession, but when Virginia seceded, Lee felt that his first loyalty was to his own state and his own people. So he refused the offer of the command of the Union armies; and on April 2, after looking for the last time upon his beautiful estate at Arlington, now our national cemetery, he rode forth to organize the forces of Virginia.

Relative Strength of the North and South. In population, wealth, and resources, the North had the advantage over the South. The population of the eleven seceding states was about 9,000,000, that of the loyal states, 22,000,000. Of the southern

population, nearly 4,000,000 were slaves. As a rule, the slaves remained faithful to their masters. On the plantations they labored to raise the crops necessary to the life of the South; while others followed their masters to the field, and performed much of the work of the camps. But with four persons north of the Potomac River to each white person at the South, the contest was unequal from the beginning. The best proof of the devoted bravery of the men of the South is that the issue was so long in doubt.

In resources too, the seceding states were at a serious disadvantage. As a result of natural conditions, the South was almost exclusively an agricultural region. Cities were small and few; there was little manufacturing, hence there were few skilled mechanics. Then, too, agriculture was not diversified; for while the South raised rice and tobacco as well as some corn and wheat, cotton was the great staple. On King Cotton the South based its hopes for success in the war. The secession leaders believed that England would never tolerate the cutting off of the raw material without which her looms must stand idle. If Great Britain and France would only recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation, the South would have a market for its staple, and cotton would purchase the goods and munitions by which that nation could secure its independence. But if its ports were blockaded, the South with its few manufactures could not be self-sustaining.

In contrast with the agricultural South was the manufacturing and commercial North, abounding in great industrial centers, its ships whitening every sea. Here were mechanics by thousands; here the streams were all in harness, and mills vied with mines in producing the materials of peace, soon to become the instruments of war. Here, too, there was a schoolhouse at each crossroads; every child could read and write, while at the South public education was practically unknown, and the poor whites were almost as illiterate as the slaves. Already Yankee ingenuity had begun to utilize labor-saving machinery; and the introduction of the McCormick reaper into the wheat fields of the Northwest released regiments of young men to do battle for the Union. Hence the Secretary of War could say in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ILLINOIS
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Mississippi R.
Ohio
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Carthage
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Cairo
Belmont
Columbus
Confederate Bluff 1861
Ft. Donelson
Island No. 10
Ft. Henry
INDIAN
TERRITORY
Murfreesbor
TENNE
Ft. Pillow
Arkansas R.
1862
Memphis
Shiloh
ARKANSAS
Little Rock
Holly Springs
Corinth
Iuka
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Red R.
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Sabine R.
Shreveport
Vicksburg
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Mississippi R.
New Orleans
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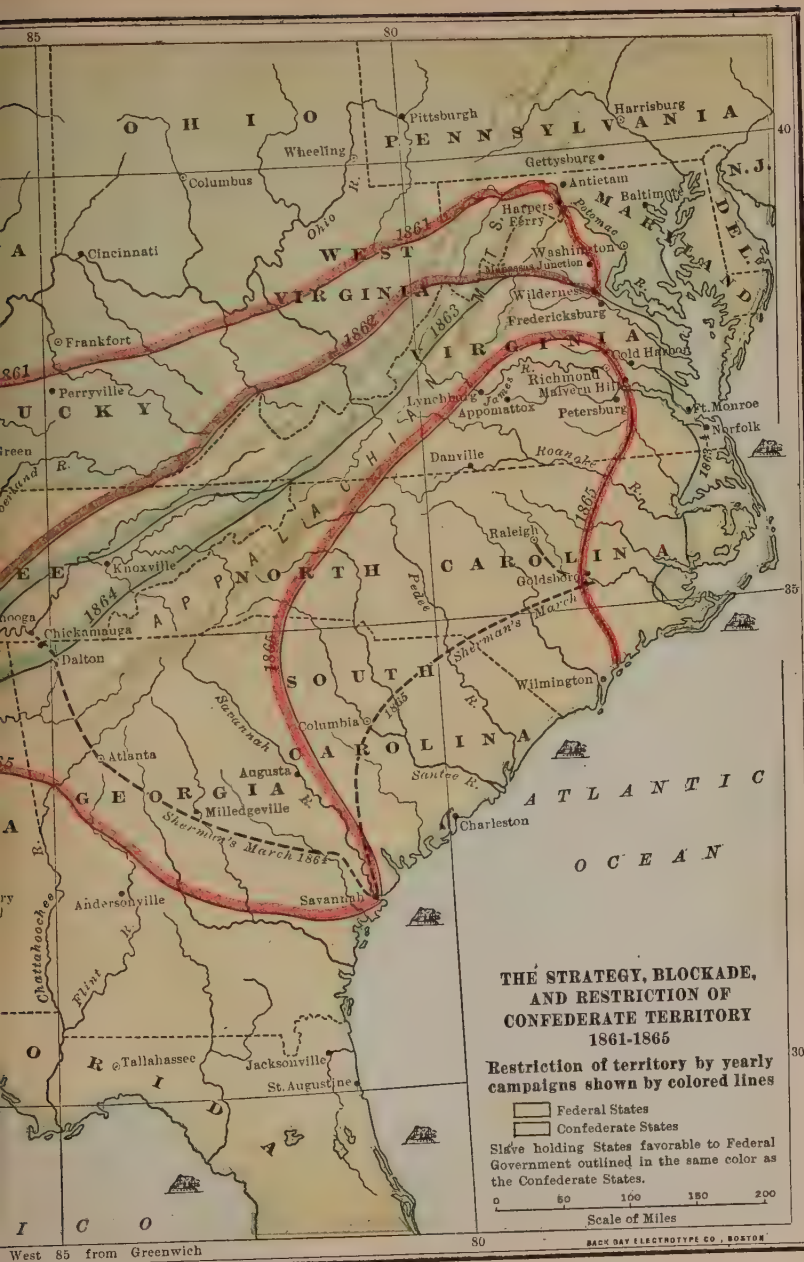
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Antietam
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Frankfort
Fredericksburg
Cold Harbor
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Lynchburg
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Petersburg
Ft. Monroe
Perryville
Norfolk
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Roanoke R.
Raleigh
1865
Knoxville
N O R T H C A R O L I N A
Goldsboro
35
1864
Chickamauga
Dalton
Sherman's March
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S O U T H
Wilmington
Savannah R.
Columbia
Pedee R.
Atlanta
C A R O L I N A
Augusta
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G E O R G I A
Milledgeville
Sherman's March 1864
Charleston
O C E A N
Andersonville
Savannah
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
30
St. Augustine
F L O R I D A
THE STRATEGY, BLOCKADE, AND RESTRICTION OF CONFEDERATE TERRITORY 1861-1865
Restriction of territory by yearly campaigns shown by colored lines
Federal States
Confederate States
Slave holding States favorable to Federal Government outlined in the same color as the Confederate States.
0 50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles
80
West 85 from Greenwich
BACK BAY ELECTROTYPE CO., BOSTON

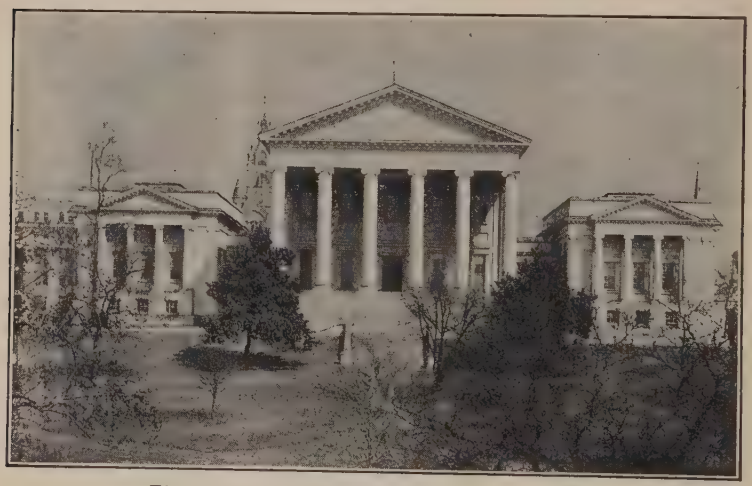
1861: "The reaper is to the North what slavery is to the South."

The Strategy of the Civil War. The theatre of the war was bounded on the north by the courses of the Missouri, Ohio, and Potomac rivers, and on the west by the frontiers of Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. This region of nearly one million square miles was divided by the Appalachian barrier into two distinct fields of operation, that of Virginia and that of the Mississippi Valley. So the war was fought out on two stages, the one in the East and the other in the West. In the East, the aim of the Union armies was to advance upon Richmond, while at the same time protecting their own capital at Washington. In the West, the object was first, to gain control of the Mississippi, which would cut the Confederacy in two; and second, to move the Union armies down the Mississippi, then northeast through Georgia and the Carolinas so as to strike Richmond from the south. Thus the war in the West was really a flanking movement on a vast scale, which if successful would trap the Confederate forces between the Army of the East, attacking Richmond from the north, and the Army of the West, advancing on the Confederate capital from the south.

In spite of long delays and serious defeats, this program was finally carried out. Progress was slow in the eastern theater of the war, partly because of geographic conditions, partly by reason of the splendid generalship of Lee and Jackson. But in the West, geographic conditions favored the Union armies which secured control of the Mississippi in 1863, and the following year captured Atlanta and marched northeast through the Carolinas.

"On to Richmond!" Washington and Richmond were the chief objectives, and the road between the two capitals would have to be guarded by each side. When the fighting began, General Winfield Scott, a loyal Virginian and a veteran of two wars, was the commander in chief of the Union armies. The Confederate forces were massed in two groups, one under General Beauregard at Manassas Junction, about thirty miles from Washington, and the other under General Joseph E.

Johnston at Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley. The people of the North were clamoring for an advance on Richmond, while the newspapers were criticizing the inactivity of the government. General Scott was reluctant to make an attack with his untrained troops, but at last the pressure could no longer be resisted. Scott ordered General McDowell, his second in command, to advance toward Manassas Junction. Members of Congress drove out from Washington to see the fight; for like



The Capitol of the Confederacy, Richmond

thousands of others at the North, they believed that this one battle would break down the Confederacy and end the war.

The Battle of Manassas or Bull Run, July 21, 1861. The clash between the two armies came at Manassas Junction, near the little creek of Bull Run in eastern Virginia. Both armies showed their inexperience, but until the middle of the afternoon, the Union troops more than held their own. Shortly after three o'clock, the Union soldiers, wearied by their long struggle, were dismayed by the arrival of Confederate reinforcements. It was the division of Johnston who had eluded the Union army sent to hold him in check, and who now threw his men into action. The Union soldiers fell back; soon the retreat became a rout,

the rout a panic. Men threw away their arms and equipment, and it was a disorganized mob that fled back across Bull Run to seek refuge in Washington.

General Jackson, to whose steadiness the Confederates owed their victory, exclaimed that with ten thousand fresh troops he could capture Washington on the morrow. However, the Confederates were so exhausted that they were not able to follow up their victory. The North had been taught a bitter lesson, while this early success made the Confederates overconfident. General Sherman afterwards said of Bull Run: "It was the best planned and worst fought battle of the war." The Union defeat came from lack of training, in which the Confederates were six months ahead.

The Blockade of the Southern Ports. A few days after the attack on Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a proclamation announcing a blockade of the ports of the southern states. To be valid according to the law of nations, a blockade must be effective; that is, it must be maintained by a force strong enough to prevent access to the blockaded ports. At this time there were only ninety ships in our navy, while the thirty-five hundred miles of seacoast to be guarded stretched from the Potomac to the mouth of the Rio Grande. A large navy had to be created; and meantime the government bought every craft that could be put to use, while the naval yards were driven night and day in building ships, engines, and armament. The North had to provide ships for the blockade, as well as cruisers to pursue commerce destroyers, and heavy ships to deal with fortresses.

The new navy performed its work well, and slowly but surely it throttled the foreign commerce so vital to the life of the Confederacy. "Uncle Sam's web feet," as Lincoln called the navy, were ever active. "Wherever the ground was a little damp," said he, "they have been and made their tracks." Fortunately for the cause of the Union, the South had no navy. Moreover, she had practically no workshops or dockyards, and few skilled mechanics for the task of building one. Control of the sea was to prove the greatest single advantage on the side of the

North, and the most effective weapon in bringing about the downfall of the Confederacy.

Relations with Europe. Both the North and the South were anxious to win the good will of European nations. President Lincoln instructed our representatives abroad to maintain that we were not waging war, but were putting down an insurrection against the laws of the Union. He hoped that foreign nations would not recognize the Confederates as belligerents; that is,

The White House of the Confederacy

President Davis's former residence in Richmond, now used as a museum. Each state in the Confederacy has equipped a room, and filled it with relics of the "Lost Cause."

would not recognize their right to carry on war. The Confederates, on the other hand, expected more than this. Knowing that the mills of Europe depended on the cotton of the South, they were confident that the leading powers would speedily recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation.

As it turned out, Great Britain and France took a middle course that pleased neither the North nor the South. On the very day that our minister, Charles Francis Adams, arrived in London, the British government issued a proclamation which

recognized the right of the Confederates to wage war. The North thought that this action was taken in unfriendly haste; but by declaring a blockade, President Lincoln himself had virtually announced a state of war. France took the same action as Great Britain, but neither nation went beyond this. The Confederates hoped to the last that Europe would intervene and recognize their independence, but this hope was never realized. Adams labored early and late to hold back Great Britain from recognizing the independence of the Confederacy, pointing out that this action would be equivalent to a declaration of war against the United States.

The aristocratic class in England favored the South, and was not unwilling to see the Union overthrown. But the starving cotton operatives in Lancashire, and the great body of England's common people, were on the side of the Union. Slavery was the corner stone of the Confederacy; and the people of England disliked slavery. Napoleon III, the ruler of France, was unfriendly to the North, but dared not act without the support of Great Britain. Of all the nations of Europe, only Russia stood firmly by the Union from the outset. Perhaps Russia's own dread of revolution led her to look with disfavor upon the action of the South. Whatever the motive, the North was encouraged by her friendship.

The Trent Affair. After the Confederate victory at Bull Run, President Davis decided to send two envoys to represent the Confederacy in Europe, and if possible, to secure recognition from Great Britain and France. John Slidell and James M. Mason were chosen, the former to be stationed at Paris, the latter at London. Running through the blockade at Charleston they reached Havana, and took passage on the British mailboat *Trent* for Southampton. The next day Captain Wilkes, commanding the United States gunboat *San Jacinto*, stopped the *Trent* in the Bahama Channel with a shot across her bow. Boarding the British steamer, he removed the ministers and their secretaries. The *Trent* was then allowed to proceed on her voyage, while Captain Wilkes landed his prisoners at Boston.

The North was wild with joy over this exploit, but sober

second thought convinced Lincoln and his Cabinet that the action of Captain Wilkes must be disavowed. By stopping a vessel on the high seas and exercising the right of search, he had done exactly what we had objected to Great Britain's doing in 1812. Great Britain at once demanded the release of the commissioners, with an apology for their arrest; and meantime she mobilized troops on the Canadian border and made ready for war. Our government soon admitted its mistake, and after releasing the prisoners, sent them to England.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE WAR IN THE WEST

Events in the Border States. The western campaign began in earnest in 1862, although there were some military operations in Virginia and Missouri during 1861. The people in the western part of Virginia owned few slaves, and were strongly opposed to secession. When Virginia seceded, these West Virginians promptly organized a Union government and asked President Lincoln for aid. Captain George B. McClellan, a West Point graduate who had served in the Mexican War, succeeded in driving the Confederate forces from this region; and from that time on, the forty-eight western counties of Virginia were under Union control. Virginia herself was now getting a taste of secession, for in 1863 Congress admitted West Virginia as an independent state.

The governor of Missouri was a secessionist, and there was a strong southern party in the state. Missouri was saved for the Union chiefly by the energy of two men, Francis P. Blair, a brother of Lincoln's Postmaster-General, and Captain Nathaniel Lyon of the Union army. Aided by the loyal population of St. Louis, Blair and Lyon captured the Confederate headquarters at Camp Jackson, and prevented the secessionists from seizing the United States arsenal at St. Louis. Marching his troops up the Missouri River, Lyon then captured Jefferson City, and drove the secessionist governor to the border of the state. Kentucky was also torn by dissension, but after a brief attempt to remain neutral, this state decided for the Union without serious fighting.

The Campaign in Tennessee. With the border states of West Virginia, Missouri, and Kentucky in control of the Union forces, the campaign of 1862 began with a fierce struggle for the state

of Tennessee. Since there were few railroads in the western theatre of the war, it was necessary for the Union forces to secure control of the rivers, especially the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, and Mississippi. In the fall of 1861, the Confederate line of defense stretched from Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River to Columbus, Kentucky; and from this point through Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, to Bowling Green, Kentucky. This line of defense might be pierced by a successful attack on Forts Henry and Donelson; for if these strongholds were captured, the Union armies could advance up the courses of the Tennessee and the Cumberland into the heart of the Confederacy. This was the plan of campaign in the mind of Ulysses S. Grant, then an obscure captain in charge of a military depot at Cairo, Illinois. While General George B. McClellan was drilling his army along the Potomac, Grant was begging his superiors for permission to attack the Confederate lines at Forts Henry and Donelson.

Ulysses S. Grant

Even when beaten, Grant could with difficulty be kept at bay. When he failed at one point, he kept courage, collected reinforcements, and tried again at another.

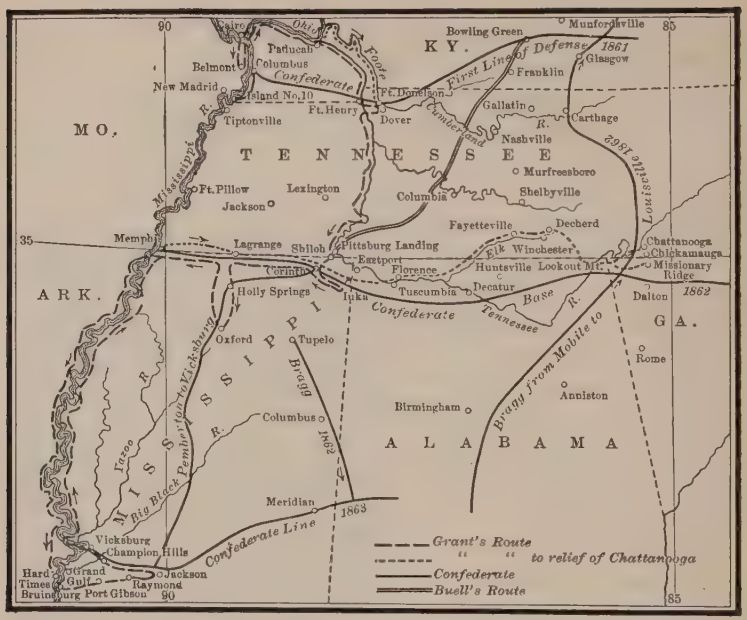
Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson. Late in January, 1862, Grant received permission to carry out his plan. He moved up the Tennessee with an army of 17,000 men, aided by river gunboats under the command of Commodore Foote. The commander of Fort Henry surrendered after a lively cannonade, but most of the garrison escaped to Fort Donelson. Grant now prepared to advance against this stronghold, which defended the Cumberland River and blocked the road to Nashville. The

gunboats were sent down the Tennessee, to return by way of the Ohio into the Cumberland River, while Grant marched his army overland and threw his lines around the fort.

At first the gunboats were driven back by the fire from the fort, but Grant's opportunity came a few days later, when the Confederate garrison tried to cut a way of escape through his lines. Striking with all his force, **Grant drove them back** within the fortifications. The Confederate commander, General Buckner, then asked Grant for terms, and received the reply soon to become famous all over the North: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Realizing that he could not hold out much longer, General Buckner surrendered the fort with its garrison of 15,000 men. Nine days later Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, was occupied by Union forces. The Confederates had to abandon Kentucky, as well as a large part of Tennessee.

The Battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing. After the loss of Fort Donelson, General Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the Confederate forces in the West, retreated to Corinth, Mississippi. This was an important point, since it controlled the railroad leading from Memphis to Chattanooga. The Confederate troops now formed a second line of defense, stretching from Memphis to Chattanooga by way of Corinth and northern Alabama. General Halleck, commander in chief of the Union armies in the West, ordered Generals Grant and Buell to unite their forces at Pittsburg Landing, a point on the Tennessee River about twenty miles north of Corinth. Before Buell could join Grant, the Confederates under Johnston moved north from Corinth and struck Grant's army at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg Landing. The Union commander was apparently taken by surprise; his troops were badly placed for defense, since they were on the west side of the river, while Buell's reinforcements were to join him from the northeast.

The battle raged all day, and nightfall found the Union troops forced to the river banks, where they found protection under the fire of the gunboats. Unfortunately for the Confederates, their



The Campaigns in the West

After the loss of Memphis and New Orleans, the Confederates fortified Vicksburg most carefully. Sherman's attack on the city failed while Grant was marching south toward Jackson. His communications being cut at Holly Springs, he turned about to Memphis, came down the river in transports, and after a brilliant campaign, lay siege to Pemberton's army in Vicksburg.

brave commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston, was killed in the afternoon just as he seemed about to win a decisive victory. His successor, General Beauregard, prepared to fight it out on the next day, and even telegraphed to Richmond that victory was already won. But General Buell came up during the night with 20,000 fresh troops; and after eight hours more of hard fighting, the Confederates retreated to their main position at Corinth. Although claimed as a Union victory, Shiloh was won at a terrible cost. Out of 100,000 men engaged in both armies, the Confederates lost 10,000, while the Union loss was 13,000. General Halleck now came to Pittsburg Landing to take personal command of the Union army. He moved

cautiously against Corinth, which the Confederates evacuated without striking a blow. Memphis fell as soon as Corinth was abandoned, so that the Confederate second line of defense was broken.

Confederate Counter Attack in Tennessee and Kentucky. There was quiet in the West for several months after the battle of Shiloh; but meantime the Confederates were preparing for a counter attack in Tennessee and Kentucky, in the hope of regaining both states for the South. General Buell was given the task of warding off these attacks; but General Bragg with a strong Confederate army managed to evade him, and reached a point near Louisville, Kentucky. The cities of Louisville and Cincinnati were in panic at the prospect of capture, but Buell's army at last caught up with the Confederates at Perryville, Kentucky. After a sharp engagement, the Confederate army retreated south to Chattanooga. About three months later, Bragg again advanced north as far as Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where he threw up intrenchments. A Union army under General Rosecrans attacked this position in the hard-fought battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro. The Confederates carried away many captured guns and claimed the victory, but they had failed in their attempt to wrest Tennessee from Union control.

The Mississippi Opened to Vicksburg. After the loss of Forts Henry and Donelson, the Confederates strengthened their posts on the upper Mississippi at New Madrid and Island No. 10. Aided by the gunboats which had done such effective work against Fort Henry, General Pope captured these positions in March and April, 1862. Union gunboats then passed down the river to Fort Pillow and Memphis, both of which surrendered early in June. The Mississippi was then cleared of Confederate forces as far south as Vicksburg.

The Capture of New Orleans, April 25, 1862. While the Union troops under Grant were opening the Mississippi north of Vicksburg, Admiral David G. Farragut was sent with a fleet of gunboats to capture New Orleans, and open the Mississippi from the south. The defenses below New Orleans were very strong. Two powerful forts guarded the river, while an enor-

mous chain was stretched from bank to bank to hold back hostile vessels at a point where they would be under the fire from the forts. Above this barrier was a fleet of Confederate gunboats and fireships, ready to play their part. Farragut ordered two of his gunboats to accomplish the dangerous task of breaking this chain. His ships then silenced the fire from the fort and moved up the river to New Orleans, which lay helpless under his guns. This important city was occupied by Union troops on May 1, 1862, and governed by General Butler under martial law. With grim humor, Butler inscribed on the statue of Andrew Jackson his famous toast: "The federal Union, it must be preserved."

David G. Farragut

In running the gantlet of the forts below New Orleans, Farragut showed himself a commander of original ideas, with the nerve and energy to carry them into execution.

The capture of New Orleans made it easier for the Union navy to enforce the blockade; while the loss of its largest city and principal seaport was a serious blow to the Confederacy. As a result of the western campaigns in 1862, the Union forces held all of Kentucky, the western and central portion of Tennessee, and all of the Mississippi River except the stretch of two hundred miles from Port Hudson north to Vicksburg.

Grant Captures Vicksburg, July 4, 1863. Fourteen months after the fall of New Orleans, the Union army under General Grant captured the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. Vicksburg was protected from attack on the river side by a line of bluffs, covered with batteries. This natural fortress was held by a strong garrison, while about fifty miles to the east was

another Confederate army under General Joseph E. Johnston. Grant finally hit upon a brilliant but daring plan of attack. His gunboats and transports ran past the batteries at night, landing the supplies at Grand Gulf, a point about forty miles south of Vicksburg. Grant now showed the qualities of leadership that later were to give him supreme command of the Union armies. Directly north of him lay Vicksburg with its garrison, while northeast was Jackson, where reinforcements for Vicksburg were even then gathering. Abandoning his base, Grant marched his army across the country to Jackson, arriving just in time to cut the railroad line between Jackson and Vicksburg, and to place all of his forces between the divided enemy. After driving the outnumbered Confederates from Jackson, Grant turned west to strike at Vicksburg. When his attempt to carry the stronghold at the point of the bayonet failed, he threw his lines around Vicksburg for a siege. Cut off from supplies and reinforcements, Vicksburg held out for six weeks, then surrendered with 30,000 Confederate soldiers.

Five days later Port Hudson fell, so that the North had accomplished the first of its great aims in the war. The Mississippi was opened throughout its course, and the Confederacy cut in two. Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas could no longer send food and reinforcements to their sister states east of the Mississippi. Another important result was to bring Grant into prominence as the most successful northern general. As General Sherman said, Grant's campaign before Vicksburg was the work of a great captain. On the day before Vicksburg surrendered, the Union army in the East turned back Lee at Gettysburg, and the twin victories gave new hope to the North.

The Battle of Chickamauga, September 19–20, 1863. While Grant was forcing Vicksburg to surrender, General Rosecrans led a Union army against Bragg, the commander of the Confederate forces defending Chattanooga. In order to reach the enemy, the Confederates marched out of Chattanooga, and made a detour which left the Union army between them and the city. Bragg struck fiercely at the Union left wing commanded by General Thomas, but that brave commander could not be forced

back. On the second day of the battle, a whole division was moved from the Union center to reinforce the left wing. General Longstreet, one of the most successful Confederate leaders, saw the blunder and at once hurled eight brigades through the breach. The Union center was crushed, and the right wing forced back. With two thirds of his army fleeing in panic along the road to Chattanooga, Rosecrans sent word to Thomas to protect the rear as best he could. Although surrounded on three sides and outnumbered two to one, Thomas held his position until nightfall. His splendid resistance saved the army from destruction, and won for him the title of "The Rock of Chickamauga."

James Longstreet

One of the greatest fighters of the Confederacy. He won especial distinction at Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chickamauga, and in the Wilderness Campaign.

The Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Holding the defeated Union troops penned up in Chattanooga, General Bragg proceeded to fortify Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, heights that commanded the town on the east and south. The Confederate batteries on Lookout Mountain shelled the railroad, and with their supplies cut off, the Union forces in Chattanooga faced starvation. At this critical time, General Grant was placed in command of all the Union armies in the West, with orders to relieve Chattanooga. "Fighting Joe" Hooker was also sent from Virginia with 16,000 men, while Sherman was ordered from Vicksburg with a still larger force.

Grant's first work was to open up railway connections, so as to furnish the besieged army with food. He accomplished

this by building a new railway line, then made ready to attack the Confederates. Sherman was given command of the left wing of the Union army, Thomas was placed in the center, and Hooker on the right wing. The Confederate line stretched from the northern end of Missionary Ridge along the crest to Rossville Gap, a distance of about six miles.

When the battle began, Sherman's troops were for a time delayed by a hidden ravine across the ridge. Meantime, Hooker's men stormed up the sides of Lookout Mountain, and placed the Stars and Stripes on its peak; while the Union center under Thomas swept over the ridge opposite, and seized the Confederate batteries and trenches. "By whose order is this?" asked Grant, as he saw the blue lines charging up the heights, instead of merely seizing the lower slopes as he had commanded. "By their own, I fancy," said Thomas, who stood near him. But the ridge was won, and Bragg was forced to abandon the siege of Chattanooga, taking his army into winter quarters at Dalton, in northern Georgia. The battles around Chattanooga were nearly as decisive as Vicksburg itself, for all of Tennessee was now securely held for the Union, and the victorious Union army at Chattanooga held the key to Atlanta.

George H. Thomas

This Virginian was of the same good lineage as Robert E. Lee, but unlike him, he espoused the Union cause. Rosecrans said of Thomas that he was as wise in council as he was brave in battle.

Sherman's Campaign against Atlanta. As a result of his victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, Grant was made commander in chief of all the Union armies, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. Early in 1864 he left for the East, to take

command of the Army of the Potomac operating in Virginia against General Lee; and command of the forces in Chattanooga was given to General Sherman, another proven leader. General Bragg was succeeded by one of the best Confederate generals, Joseph E. Johnston, so that each army had a new commander.

Sherman marched toward the Confederates at Dalton early in 1864, but finding their position too strong for a direct attack moved around their left flank and approached the railroad leading to Atlanta. This railroad Johnston had to defend at all hazards, so he abandoned his trenches and took up a new position. Again Sherman moved around his left flank, and this maneuver was repeated until the Union army was within six miles of Atlanta. The southern people blamed Johnston for his frequent retreats, so he was replaced by General Hood, an impetuous leader who could be relied on to fight. Sherman defeated Hood in three pitched battles, and on September 3, 1864, the Union army occupied Atlanta.

Joseph E. Johnston

Ranks with Lee and Jackson as one of the three great soldiers of the South. At Vicksburg, Grant told Sherman that Johnston was the only general he feared on the southern side.

The loss of Atlanta was a serious blow to the South, for the railroad which carried supplies to Lee's army in Virginia ran through this city. Hood now marched his army to a point forty-five miles north of Atlanta, in an attempt to seize the railroad on which Sherman depended for supplies. Defeated here, he made a wide detour to the west and north, so as to threaten the railroad at Nashville. Still Sherman held on at Atlanta, but

sent General Thomas north to defend Nashville. Thomas destroyed Hood's army in a fierce battle late in the year 1864; and this left the Confederates without any troops to oppose Sherman's march through Georgia and the Carolinas.

Sherman's March to the Sea. After burning everything in Atlanta that was of service to the Confederates, and destroying the railroad line to Chattanooga, Sherman began his famous march to the sea. He had cut the telegraph lines, so that for a month the North only learned of his movements from the Confederate newspapers. Sherman's purpose was to destroy the military resources of Georgia in his devastating march, then by turning northward, to execute the final flanking movement against Richmond. The Union troops, called "Sherman's bummers" by the Southerners, marched in four parallel columns, covering a zone sixty miles wide. They burned houses and barns, destroyed the growing crops, carried off live stock, and laid waste the entire region through which they passed. On Christmas Eve, 1864, President Lincoln received a telegram which read: "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton. — W. T. Sherman, Major-General."

William Tecumseh Sherman

Grant's most trusted lieutenant. "To you and McPherson," wrote Grant to Sherman, "above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success."

Leaving Savannah in January, 1865, Sherman headed his forces northward through the Carolinas in order to threaten Richmond from the south, while Grant with the Army of the

Potomac was attacking from the north. Sherman's army occupied the capital of South Carolina on February 17, and reached Raleigh, North Carolina, about two months later. His successful campaign was now at an end, for on April 9, 1865, General Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox. The other Confederate generals hastened to follow the example of their chief; and Sherman received the surrender of Johnston's forces in North Carolina. Thus the war in the West had accomplished both of its aims. The Confederacy was first cut in two by opening the Mississippi throughout its entire length. Next, by his vast flanking movement through the heart of the South, Sherman proved that the Confederacy was, as he said, an empty eggshell, incapable of defending its interior lines. Even if Lee could have held out longer, Richmond must surely have fallen as the two jaws of the nut-cracker closed in, — Grant's army from the north and the army of Sherman from the south.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WAR IN THE EAST

General McClellan Takes Command. While the Union armies were winning victories in the West, fortune in the eastern campaigns seemed to favor the South. After the rout of the northern army at Bull Run, General George B. McClellan was recalled from West Virginia to take command of the Union forces around Washington. McClellan was a splendid drillmaster. No longer were officers and men seen loafing about the streets of Washington, for the new commander put them all to work. He built fortifications, drilled and equipped the raw regiments, and soon brought order out of chaos.

George B. McClellan

A brilliant leader, beloved by the whole Army of the Potomac. Lee himself held a high opinion of McClellan's military ability.

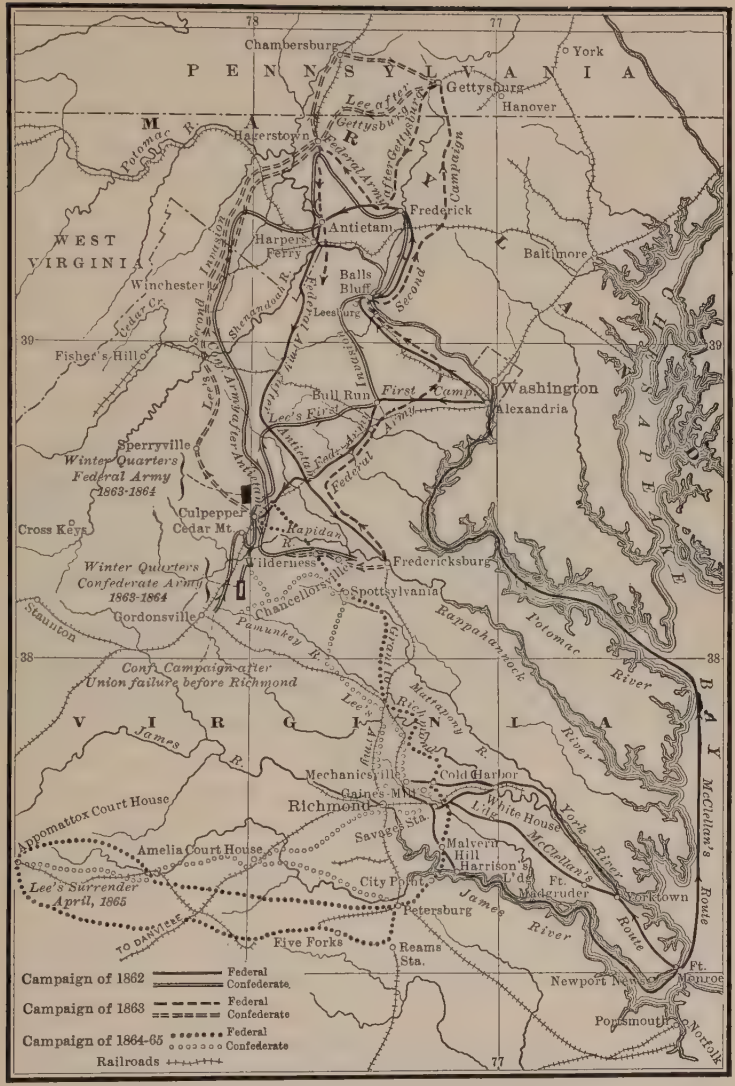
By the close of 1861, the Army of the Potomac was a well drilled and well equipped machine, and the people of the North were anxious to see it put to use. But McClellan was not yet ready to advance. The Confederates under General Joseph E. Johnston were still near the battle field of Manassas, thirty-five miles distant. Although his own force was much smaller than the Army of the Potomac,

Johnston preserved a bold front; and the imagination of McClellan saw thousands where there were scarcely hundreds. In short, the new commander of the Union army had all the qualities of a successful general except initiative. As Sheridan afterward said, in his rough, direct speech: "The army was all right. The trouble was that the commander never went out to lick anybody, but always thought first of keeping from getting licked."

The Peninsular Campaign. Losing patience at McClellan's long delay, President Lincoln issued a positive command for a general advance of the Union armies on Washington's Birthday, 1862. There were two possible routes along which the Union forces might move against Richmond. The first was a direct march southward, difficult because Richmond was protected on the north by rivers, creeks, and an almost impassable wilderness. The second route was to send the army on ships to Fortress Monroe, and from this base, to strike the Confederate capital from the east.

Lincoln and his advisers wished to make the attack by a direct southward movement, so as to keep the Union army between the enemy and Washington; but McClellan decided in favor of the water route. His famous Peninsular Campaign lasted from March until August, 1862, and ended in disaster for the Army of the Potomac. Landing 100,000 men at the end of the peninsula between the York and the James rivers, the Union commander took Yorktown and Williamsburg, then pushed northward until he reached a point about ten miles east of Richmond. Here McClellan expected to be reinforced by the army of McDowell, which had marched overland to a point in central Virginia, near Fredericksburg. If the two Union armies could unite before Richmond, they would greatly outnumber the Confederates, and could probably capture the capital.

Stonewall Jackson's Campaign in the Valley. In this critical hour, Stonewall Jackson saved the Confederacy by his brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. Jackson defeated three Union armies in turn; he caused so much alarm for the safety of Washington that Lincoln ordered McDowell into the



The Campaigns in the East

valley at the very moment when he should have been marching on Richmond. His object accomplished, Jackson recrossed the Blue Ridge and joined Lee for the defense of his capital. "In forty-eight days he had marched six hundred and seventy-six miles, fought five hard battles, accomplishing in each his purpose, baffled three federal armies, his seventeen thousand matched against fifty thousand, brought off his prisoners and booty unmeasured, ruined the campaign of McClellan, and stricken the North with terror. He now stood, with army diminished indeed, but trained, seasoned, and eager for new efforts, while his own reputation was forever fixed as one of the world's great captains."

Lee's Defense of Richmond. The defense of Richmond was at first intrusted to General Joseph E. Johnston. He was severely wounded early in the Peninsular Campaign, after which General Robert E. Lee was made commander in chief of the Confederate armies. Lee's defense of his capital was skillful, and with a smaller force he outgeneralled his adversary. The Union army reached a point about five miles from Richmond, where a severe battle was fought. Disappointed at not receiving the expected aid from McDowell, McClellan then decided on a change of base to the James River. Fighting as he retreated the terrible series of combats known as the Seven Days' Battles, his army at last reached Harrison's Landing, where it found protection under the guns of the navy. McClellan had lost 15,000 men in the Seven Days' Battles without gaining any advantage. He was soon afterwards recalled, while the disheartened Army of the Potomac was brought back to Washington on the transports.

Second Battle of Manassas or Bull Run. A new Army of Virginia was now organized under the command of General John Pope, who had won some success in the West. General Lee moved north against his new adversary, and on the same field of Manassas where the war began, the Union forces suffered another severe defeat. Washington became panic stricken at the prospect of capture, and McClellan was once more called upon to defend the capital.

The Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. General Lee now planned to carry the war across the Potomac into Maryland. He hoped to obtain recruits among the many southern sympathizers in that state, while at the same time he could threaten Baltimore and Washington with capture. Fording the Potomac at Leesburg, the Confederate army marched to Frederick, Maryland. Stonewall Jackson made a sudden dash upon Harper's Ferry, capturing 12,000 prisoners, together with immense quantities of arms and supplies; then he rejoined his chief at Sharpsburg. Moving with his usual caution, McClellan

Lincoln in Conference with His Generals at Antietam

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

finally reached Antietam, Maryland, where one of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought. The result was not decisive, but Lee withdrew his army across the Potomac, while McClellan with his larger force made no attempt to cut off his retreat. McClellan fancied, as always, that the enemy outnumbered him, and so what should have been a splendid Union victory was hardly more than a drawn battle.

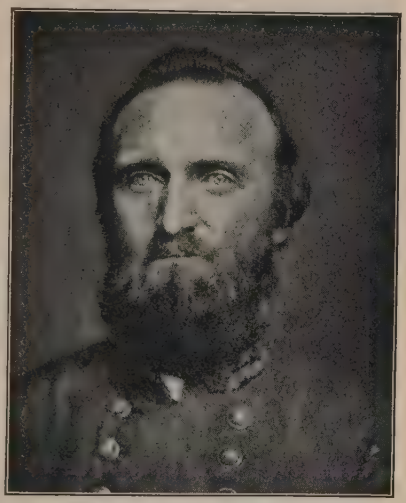
The Disaster at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. Baffled and disappointed, Lee retreated into Virginia, having won few recruits for his army in Maryland. McClellan followed so slowly that he was again removed from command, and General

Ambrose E. Burnside appointed in his place. Burnside himself did not believe that he was competent to command a large army, and this was soon proven by a Union disaster. Aiming to march directly against Richmond, Burnside led his troops across the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, where Lee's army of 80,000 men was placed on a line of hills facing an interval of low ground. In an attempt to dislodge the Confederates, Burnside hurled seven divisions in turn against this strong position. Grief and despair filled the hearts of the Union soldiers who watched this useless sacrifice of their comrades. The Army of the Potomac lost 12,000 men in what was soon known as the "horror of Fredericksburg." After the battle, scores of officers sent in their resignations, while the men deserted by hundreds. The demoralization continued until General Burnside was removed from command, and "Fighting Joe" Hooker appointed in his stead.

Another Union Defeat at Chancellorsville, May 2–3, 1863. Hooker was a good fighter, the soldiers loved him, and his appointment restored the broken spirit of his army. But he was no match for Lee and Jackson, who attacked the Union army at Chancellorsville, about nine miles from Fredericksburg. Lee divided his army, sending Stonewall Jackson with 30,000 troops to make a roundabout march so as to attack Hooker's army on the right and rear. Meantime, Lee himself with only 16,000 men pretended that he was about to make a frontal attack on Chancellorsville.

The Union soldiers on the right wing had stacked their arms, never dreaming of an attack from that quarter, when Jackson's army suddenly fell upon them. No troops not under arms could have stood against such a charge, and the Union lines fell back in panic. But when evening came on, Jackson's reckless daring saved Hooker's army from destruction. Riding in advance of his men to reconnoitre the enemy's line, the Confederate general came suddenly upon the Union outposts. As the group of horsemen turned and galloped back, they were fired upon by their own men, who mistook them for Union cavalry. Among the victims was Jackson himself, who received a mortal wound.

Their great leader died a few days afterwards; and the Confederates could better have spared an army. A man of deep religious convictions and intense piety, Jackson always carried his Bible with him, and never went into action without prayer. At first his recovery was hoped for, and when his left arm was amputated by the surgeon, Lee said to him: "General, you have fared better than I, for you have lost only your left arm, while I have lost my right." Lee afterwards declared that if Jackson had been at Gettysburg, that battle would have been a Confederate victory; and the South will always believe that had he lived, the cause of the Confederacy would have been won.



Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson

From a war time photograph, considered by Mrs. Jackson to be the best portrait of her husband. Foreign critics regard Jackson as the greatest military genius of the Civil War.

The Tide Turns at Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863. While the South was still rejoicing over Chancellorsville, Lee determined to carry the war into the North for three reasons. He wanted that section to experience some of the hardships of invasion; he realized that Vicksburg was about to fall, and wished to offset its loss by the capture of Philadelphia, Baltimore, or even Washington itself; and finally, knowing that the North was disheartened over the war, he hoped by a great victory on northern soil to conquer a peace. Pouring down the Shenandoah Valley, Lee's three corps passed through Hagerstown, then on to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. The Army of the Potomac marched northward in a course parallel to the Confederates, keeping between Lee's forces and Washington. Hooker gave up his command in this critical

hour, and was replaced by General George Meade. Near the little town of Gettysburg, the two armies met in a three days' conflict which proved the turning point of the war.

In the first day's battle, the Union forces were driven back from their position, and General Reynolds, who commanded the left wing, was killed. On the second day, the Confederates made another powerful attack against Culp's Hill and Little Round Top; but while the Union lines were pushed back, they were not

Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg

This hand-to-hand fighting at the stone wall took place after Pickett's men had advanced for a distance of nearly one mile, in the face of heavy artillery fire.

broken. That night General Lee held a council of war. Both wings of his army had been held in check, with heavy losses; but Lee was determined to fight the battle to a finish. Meade also gathered his generals in a midnight council, and there was no voice except in favor of fighting it out on the morrow. To the commander of the Union center, Meade remarked: "Your turn will come to-morrow. To-day Lee has struck the flanks; next it will be the center."

On July third came the dramatic event of the three days'

struggle. Lee ordered his able second in command, General Longstreet, to charge the Union center posted on Cemetery Ridge. In vain Longstreet remonstrated with his chief, urging that no fifteen thousand men could capture such a position. Lee pronounced for the assault, and Pickett's division was ordered forward. The Union batteries opened a terrible fire upon the approaching column, which melted away as it neared the federal line. One column of the charging host actually penetrated the Union center, but a few moments later Hancock's men sent them reeling backwards. The foothold which they gained for a brief space is to-day marked by a monument; it commemorates "the high tide of the rebellion," for the failure of Pickett's charge spelled the doom of the Confederate cause. Lee's army stood defiantly on Seminary Ridge for twenty-four hours longer, then slowly withdrew across the Potomac. Gettysburg was a Union victory, but the North was bitterly disappointed at the escape of the invading army. "We had them within our grasp," cried Lincoln, his heart torn with grief. "We had only to stretch forth our hands and they were ours, and nothing I could say or do could make the army move. Our army held the war in the hollow of their hand and they would not close it."

George Gordon Meade

The general who broke the spell of Lee's victories. At Gettysburg, Meade's good sense and steadfast courage carried the country through the greatest crisis of the war.

The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. In March, 1862, the most interesting naval battle of the war took place at Hampton Roads, off the coast of Virginia. This was the fight between the Confederate warship *Merrimac* and the Union vessel *Monitor*.

When the Confederates captured Norfolk they raised the *Merrimac*, which had been sunk to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy. This vessel was equipped with a casement or box heavily plated with iron, and pierced for cannon. Steam was used as the motive power, while from her bow projected an iron ram like that on an ancient galley. On March 8, the *Merrimac* moved out from Norfolk to attack the five stately wooden frigates guarding Hampton Roads. The Union ships discharged their broadsides at this strange assailant, but the balls glanced

Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*

The *Monitor* was of 776 tons burden, with two 11-inch guns fired from a revolving turret; the *Merrimac* was a ship of 3500 tons, carrying ten cannon.

off harmlessly from her iron sides. She pierced the *Cumberland* with her ram, sending that frigate to the bottom, then turned her guns on the *Congress*, which presently went up in flames.

Mistress of the situation, with the three remaining frigates aground on the shoals, the *Merrimac* then withdrew; she was certain of her prey, and only waited for daylight to complete the work of destruction. Next morning a new antagonist appeared on the scene. This was the *Monitor*, a queer-looking craft built by John Ericsson in the Brooklyn navy yards. This "cheese-box on a raft," as it was described by a spectator,

consisted of a round turret about three feet high, mounted on a flat deck. This turret revolved, and carried two guns that could be turned in any direction against the enemy. In the duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, neither vessel could make much impression on the other. Still the advantage was with the *Monitor*, for her opponent retired from the combat, while that day's battle put an end to the danger that the Confederates might control the ocean. This contest revolutionized sea fighting. The day of the wooden warship was over, and the era of ironclads had come. The oak-ribbed and white-winged navies that had ruled the ocean for centuries became obsolete, and all the world began to build fleets of steel and steam.

Grant Is Made Lieutenant General, 1864. Six different generals in turn had commanded the Union forces in the East, but the Army of the Potomac was no nearer Richmond than at the beginning of the war. Lincoln now turned to the commander who had won the brilliant campaigns against Fort Donelson and Vicksburg. Entering the war as captain of a volunteer company, Ulysses S. Grant was soon promoted, but failed to receive the recognition warranted by his splendid campaigns in the West. At last his real military ability won for him the supreme command of the Union armies. Recalled from the scene of his western victories, he at once began a campaign against Richmond.

The Wilderness Campaign, May–June, 1864. Grant planned to make a direct attack on Richmond from the north. He crossed the Rapidan in May, 1864, and began the Wilderness Campaign, so-called because of the tangle of undergrowth that covered this region. In this campaign, the new commander in chief lost 34,000 men in sixteen days without gaining any advantage. With grim determination, he announced: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." At last by a flanking movement, Grant brought his army to Cold Harbor, six miles from the fortifications of Richmond. Here he ordered a grand assault by 80,000 men, but the attack was repulsed with terrible slaughter. Convinced that he could not crush Lee in battle, Grant settled down to besiege Richmond,

following a plan quite similar to that of McClellan in his Peninsular Campaign.

Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. Lee was in desperate plight at Richmond, and hoping to relieve the city, he sent General Early with 17,000 men through the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington. That leader almost reached the national capital, but Washington was saved by troops sent from Grant's army. Meantime, Grant held his position before Richmond, while he ordered General Sheridan against the Confederate forces in the valley. Driving Early's forces southward, Sheridan began to lay waste the valley, so that it could not again be used as a base for raids into northern territory. General Sheridan did his work thoroughly. Barns, mills, and residences were burned, and the grain, cattle, and horses were seized. The rich valley was left so barren that, as Sheridan said, "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his rations." General Early made a last stand at Cedar Creek while Sheridan was absent at Winchester, twenty miles away. His famous ride brought the Union commander on the field in time to change the defeat into a victory that ended the raids in the Shenandoah Valley.

Philip H. Sheridan

This youthful, impetuous leader proved one of the world's greatest cavalry officers. His troopers followed him with blind devotion.

The Siege and Capture of Richmond. The first weeks of 1865 saw the Confederacy on the verge of collapse. Hood's army

in Tennessee was destroyed, Early was driven from the Shenandoah Valley, Grant's army held Richmond in close siege, and Sherman was moving almost unopposed through the Carolinas. Lee's army in Richmond numbered only 50,000 men, while Johnston in North Carolina had only 37,000 troops, too small a force to resist Sherman's sweep northward.

Lee finally decided to abandon Richmond. He planned to escape along the line of the railroad to Danville, North Carolina, so

The Ruins of Richmond

From a photograph in the Brady Collection, the War Department, Washington.

as to unite his army with that of Johnston. Lee reached Amelia Court House, about thirty-five miles southwest of Richmond, where he expected to obtain supplies; none were on hand, and a precious day was lost in securing them. Next day a cavalry force under Sheridan seized the railroad to Danville, forcing Lee to turn in a westerly direction toward Lynchburg. The Confederate army was now broken and disheartened; the men were on short rations, and realizing that the end was at hand, they were deserting in squads. Lee's retreat was again blocked by the Union cavalry at Appomattox Court House, and here, on

April 9, 1865, he surrendered his army to General Grant. The Union commander granted generous terms to his brave opponent. All of the Confederate soldiers were released on parole; and they were permitted to keep their horses "for the spring plowing," as Grant remarked. The surrender of the other Confederate generals throughout the South soon followed, and the great war was ended.

The Assassination of President Lincoln, April 14, 1865. The joy of the North over Appomattox was soon turned into grief by the assassination of the President who had saved the Union. On the evening of April 14, Lincoln and his wife were attending a play at Ford's Theater. About ten o'clock John Wilkes Booth, a half-crazed actor who sympathized with the South, forced his way into the box occupied by the President and shot him through the head. About the same time, one of Booth's fellow conspirators severely wounded Secretary of State Seward as he lay ill in bed; and an attempt was also made on the life of Vice President Johnson.

Lincoln died early on the following morning, and with his death, both North and South came to realize his real greatness. He had shown his common sense in the many trying problems of the war. His sympathy and tact brought him close to the plain people; and he met every difficult situation with remarkable patience and good will. When General McClellan wrote arrogant letters to him, Lincoln said: "I will hold McClellan's horse for him, if only he will win victories." He stood by Grant when the politicians were urging that general's removal. "I can't spare that man — he fights," was his quiet but firm reply. All through the war, it was Lincoln's personality that made certain the final outcome. Now with victory won, the great leader was stricken down in the hour of triumph. Perhaps the noblest tribute to his life and work was that of James Russell Lowell, in the Harvard Commemoration Ode:

> "Nature, they say, doth dote,
> And cannot make a man
> Save on some worn out plan,
> Repeating us by rote.

For him her Old-World moulds aside she threw,
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.

. . . . . .

"He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These all are gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American."

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CHAPTER XXXVII

CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING THE WAR

The Question of Slavery. When the war began, both President Lincoln and Congress announced that their sole aim was to save the Union, and not to interfere with slavery in the states where it was established. President Lincoln always hated slavery, for as he said, "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong." But when the war began, the President wisely held back from the policy of immediate emancipation urged by Garrison, Greeley, Beecher, and other abolitionists. The President knew that the support of the border states, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, was vital to the Union cause. "My paramount purpose in this struggle," said he, "is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

Gradually public sentiment at the North began to drift toward emancipation. Northern men saw that the slaves were a source of military strength to the South. As Lincoln said: "The slaves were working on the farms and raising the food for the Confederate soldiers; they were serving as teamsters in the Confederate army; they were helping to throw up intrenchments for the Confederate defense." Fugitive slaves were constantly seeking refuge within the Union lines, and it seemed folly to send these men back to aid the South. Then, too, it was thought that public opinion abroad would be more favorable if the North declared in favor of freedom as well as Union, leaving the South to fight for slavery and secession.

During the first year of the war, Congress passed three measures aimed at slavery. First, a law that abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, the owners being compensated at the rate of $300 for each slave. Second, an act " prohibiting slavery in the present territories of the United States, and in any that shall hereafter be acquired." Third, a measure providing for the confiscation of slaves who escaped from disloyal owners, and found refuge within the Union lines.

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. After McClellan's failure to capture Richmond in the Peninsular Campaign, Lincoln decided that it was necessary to strike the South a telling blow. He was now ready to use emancipation as a military weapon against the seceding states. On July 22, 1862, the President laid before his Cabinet a proclamation that announced his intention of freeing the slaves in the states in rebellion. Secretary Seward argued that the measure ought not to be given out in a day of disaster, so the President waited for a Union victory. " I made a vow," said Lincoln, " that if McClellan drove Lee back across the Potomac, I would send the proclamation after him." Lee was driven back at Antietam, and a few days later the first emancipation proclamation was issued, to become effective January 1, 1863.

Lincoln's final proclamation was issued by virtue of his power as commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and " as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing the rebellion." The proclamation declared that all persons held as slaves in the seceding states were from that time on, forever free; and that the executive department of the United States, together with the army and navy, would recognize and maintain their freedom. Elated by its recent victories, the South was at first inclined to ridicule this measure, for it could not become effective except by a complete Union triumph. At the North the emancipation policy, together with the military reverses of the year 1862, at first seemed disastrous to Lincoln's administration. In the fall elections the Democrats carried Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, while the Republican majority in the House of Representatives was greatly reduced. But time

soon proved the wisdom of the President's action. Emancipation strengthened the Union cause abroad, especially in England. Moreover, Lincoln began to enroll negroes in his armies, and by the close of that year, 100,000 colored soldiers were fighting for the Union.

Compulsory Military Service. The first soldiers who enlisted were volunteers, but when terrible losses thinned the ranks, both North and South resorted to compulsory military service. Congress passed a law in 1863 which ordered a draft of all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. In New York City, where the east side population was largely foreign born, the draft caused one of the worst riots in our history. On the second day of the draft, the mob broke up the drawings, then began to loot the city. The rioters held New York in a reign of terror for three days, killing scores of negroes, robbing white citizens, and destroying property worth $1,500,000. Union troops from the battle-field of Gettysburg at last reached the city, and the riot was put down after nearly one thousand persons had been killed or wounded.

Bounty-Jumping. The draft was accepted as a military necessity after the first outbreaks, but it continued to be very unpopular with the "slackers," thousands of whom failed to report when their names were drawn. To stimulate enlistments, both the national and state governments offered bounties for recruits. "Bounty-jumping" soon became a popular practice; a man would enlist, claim his bounty, then desert and enlist elsewhere under another name. One man who was arrested for doing this had jumped his bounty thirty-two times. But although the later material was less promising, the ranks were kept filled, and the close of the war found 1,052,000 men in the Union armies. The policy of emancipation gained many recruits. One hundred and eighty thousand colored men were enlisted, and Grant, as well as others in a position to know, said that they fought well.

Providing the Sinews of War. To raise the immense sums of money needed to carry on the war, Congress relied chiefly on taxation, paper-money notes, and bond issues. Only a small part

of the funds needed could be raised by taxation, although Congress taxed almost every conceivable object. First, the tariff rates or duties on imports were made much higher. Next an excise or internal revenue tax was levied on liquors, tobacco, carriages, steamboats, and railroads; also upon advertisements, and every kind of legal or commercial transaction. An income tax was also levied, the rate at first being three per cent on smaller incomes, and five per cent on larger ones.

Congress also voted to issue government paper notes, or greenbacks, as they were called on account of their color. These notes were like the promissory notes of an individual, except that they were not due at a specified date, and bore no interest. The greenbacks were made legal tender for all debts except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. They were not redeemable in coin, and depended for their value on the confidence of the people in the triumph of the Union cause. The greenbacks were a kind of war barometer, for their value measured in gold rose with each Union victory, and fell with each Union defeat. In the darkest hour of the war, $100 in greenbacks was worth only $39 in gold. The total amount of greenbacks issued was $431,000,000.

The Sale of Bonds. The revenue raised by taxation and by the issue of greenbacks was small in comparison with the immense sums raised by borrowing. More than one billion dollars was raised by short-term loans, for which treasury notes and certificates of deposit were issued, bearing interest at from five to seven per cent. Another billion was raised by the sale of bonds, which bore interest at five and six per cent, and were due at a future date. These bonds were sold to bankers for what they would bring, sometimes selling below par; and the bankers in turn sold them to private investors. With the war costing $3,000,000 a day toward the close of the struggle, it is not surprising that our national debt increased from sixty millions in 1860 to nearly three billions in 1865.

A New System of National Banks, 1863. As a further aid to the government in financing the war, Congress adopted a national banking system much like our present plan. The new

banks were required to purchase bonds of the United States, and deposit them with the Treasury Department at Washington. In return, they received bank notes equal to ninety per cent of the value of the bonds deposited; and this money could then be loaned to individuals. The national banks purchased bonds to the amount of $3,331,000,000, and in this way helped the government carry on the war.

Northern Opposition to the War. The Democratic party of the North was divided in its support of Lincoln's policy. War Democrats like Stanton stood loyally by the President; others gave him only a lukewarm support; while a third class, known as copperheads, were downright traitors. The copperheads denounced the war as a failure, and called Lincoln a despot who had overthrown the Constitution and was trying to become a king. Every Union disaster made these peace-at-any-price men more bold and more talkative. The dark days that followed Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville fanned the spirit of revolt which they were trying to spread.

One of the most outspoken opponents of Lincoln and the war was an Ohio copperhead named Vallandigham. This agitator declared in a stump speech that the war was for the liberation of the blacks, and the enslavement of the whites; and that people did not deserve to be freemen who would submit to the conscription act. General Burnside finally ordered Vallandigham's arrest for treason, and a courtmartial sentenced him to imprisonment during the war. President Lincoln did not wish Vallandigham to pose as a martyr, so he changed the sentence to banishment within the Confederate lines. The Southerners received him coldly; they had no liking for a northern traitor, and Vallandigham soon found his way back to Canada. From this safe refuge he became the candidate of the Democratic party for the governorship of Ohio, but was badly defeated by John Brough, a sturdy War Democrat nominated by the Union party (October, 1863).

In carrying out his one supreme duty to suppress the rebellion, it was necessary for President Lincoln to do some things that would have been unlawful in time of peace. He suppressed

several newspapers which sympathized with the South, and caused the arrest and imprisonment of many persons without giving them a trial, or even informing them of the charges against them. This was because thousands of persons at the North were secretly aiding the South; and while the government's secret service agents knew who these men were, it was difficult to get the evidence necessary to convict them before a jury. A loud protest was raised against these arbitrary arrests, and against Lincoln for ordering them; but it was not the protest of loyal or patriotic men. "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier-boy who deserts," said Lincoln, "while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is not the less injurious when effected by getting a father, brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier-boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but a great mercy."

The Presidential Election of 1864. In the dark days of 1864, even President Lincoln doubted whether he could be reëlected. He had been renominated by the Union party, made up of Republicans and War Democrats; and to give strength to the ticket, the convention named for Vice President a War Democrat, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. The Democrats nominated the former commander of the Army of the Potomac, General George B. McClellan, on a platform which declared the war a failure. But just when the gloom seemed darkest, the news of Sherman's capture of Atlanta gave new hope to the Union cause. From this time on, Lincoln's success was assured, and on election day the President carried every state in the Union except three, receiving 212 electoral votes to 21 for McClellan. His sweeping victory showed that the voters of the North were not ready to accept peace at any price, and that they meant to have the war carried to a successful close.

The Cost of the War. The war cost the North the lives of 360,000 brave men, while the South lost 250,000 of her de-

fenders. The money cost to the North was over three billion dollars; and this sum does not take into account the loss resulting from the withdrawal of these men from industry, or the immense cost of pensions paid on account of the war. The southern people suffered even more severely than the North. Most of the fighting was in their section, where railroads, factories, and sometimes even houses and farm buildings were destroyed by the invading armies. Then, too, the Southerners had invested their savings in Confederate bonds, which were now worthless; and the freeing of their slaves meant a loss to the planters of at least three billion dollars. Finally, as a result of the passions raised by the war, the southern states were compelled to pass through the years of humiliation known as the reconstruction period, before being restored to their rights and privileges as members of the Union.

Results of the War. (1) The Union was saved, and the doctrine of secession was overthrown for all time. From this time on, every one knew that our government is not a compact, but a permanent and indivisible union.

(2) Slavery was forever destroyed, thus taking away the cause of the forty-year dispute between the North and the South. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation set free the slaves in the seceding states as rapidly as the Union armies conquered those states. It did not affect slavery in the loyal border states, like Kentucky and Delaware, nor did it abolish the institution of slavery, even at the South. Toward the close of the war two of the border states, Maryland and Missouri, abolished slavery by state action. Finally, in 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution was adopted, forever abolishing slavery throughout the United States and all places subject to its jurisdiction.

(3) Citizenship for the negro race was another result of the war. This was conferred by the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868.

(4) The war showed the strength of Republican institutions. At the outbreak of the struggle, many persons doubted whether a government like our own, under the control of the people,

would have power to maintain itself during the stress of a great war. But it was soon proven that the people could be trusted to defend a government of which they formed a part. It was found, too, that the President's war powers were as broad as the crisis demanded. No monarch in the world had greater powers than were exercised by President Lincoln in carrying on the war.

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The *Olympia*, Admiral Dewey's Flagship, at the Battle of Manila Bay

The naval engagement which meant that the United States was to become a world power.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

RESTORING THE BROKEN UNION

Lincoln's Policy of Reconstruction. In the death of Lincoln the South had lost her best friend in the hour of her greatest need. He alone possessed the wisdom, the patience, the tact, and the inspiring leadership necessary to restore the broken Union. Had Lincoln lived, he might have been able to bring the seceding states back into the Union on terms fair to the North and generous to the South. The martyred President was not in favor of dealing harshly with the defeated South. "I hope," he said at his last Cabinet meeting, "there will be no persecution, no bloody work after this war is over. No one need expect me to take any part in hanging or killing those men, even the worst of them. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union." Lincoln only asked that the Southerners do three things: first, recognize the authority of the national government; second, agree that slavery should be forever prohibited; third, take the oath of allegiance to the federal constitution. If at least one tenth of the voters in any southern state would do this, they might elect a convention and form a new state government, which the President agreed to recognize.

The terrible deed of an assassin prevented Lincoln from carrying out this broad and sensible policy. His successor was Andrew Johnson, who had been nominated as Vice President in 1864 in recognition of his services as one of the staunch Union men of eastern Tennessee. As President, Johnson proved to be a narrow-minded man, bent on having his own way and intolerant of the wishes of Congress. He made a complete failure of his attempt to carry out Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. Con-

gress had no confidence in the new President, and after a bitter quarrel, proceeded to carry out its own program.

Johnson's Plan and Its Failure. During the summer of 1865, while Congress was not in session, President Johnson tried to carry out his reconstruction policy. He laid down three conditions on which the states that had seceded might be restored to the Union. They must repeal their secession ordinances, repudiate the debts created during the war, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. The Southerners promptly complied with these terms. They elected state legislatures and governors; and when Congress assembled in December, 1865, Senators and Representatives were present from the southern states, ready to take their seats.

To complete the restoration, it was only necessary for Congress to consent to the admission of these members. This consent Congress would not give until the southern states should pass laws to protect the ex-slaves in their newly-won freedom. President Johnson insisted that the South should be let alone in dealing with the freedmen, and on this point the President and Congress parted ways. The members of Congress also resented the fact that President Johnson had taken up the reconstruction problem without consulting them. Then too, the Republican leaders did not like the idea of at once admitting to Congress the ex-Confederate soldiers and generals who had been elected to represent the South. They feared that the late Confederates, aided by northern Democrats, might gain control of the government and undo the results of the war. "The party which saved the country must rule it," said the Republican orators.

The Black Codes. Many Republican Congressmen believed that the South was not accepting in good faith the results of the war. They pointed to the harsh laws which the new southern legislatures had passed, which seemed to restore slavery in all but name. For example, there were vagrancy laws, imposing a fine upon negroes who wandered about instead of working. White men might pay these fines, then compel the negro to work out the debt. Then there were apprentice laws, by which young negroes were bound out and compelled to

work without any wages except their board and clothes. In several states of the South, negroes were forbidden to leave the county, or to own land, or to assemble in political meetings.

The southern whites defended these measures on the ground that they were necessary to protect their section from disorder and violence. Four million blacks, nearly all of whom could neither read nor write, had suddenly become free. They were utterly destitute, yet many of them refused to work and wandered about in idleness, testing their newly-won freedom. The more radical members of Congress talked of confiscating the estates of the ex-Confederate leaders; so it was not strange that thousands of ignorant negroes came to believe that the plantations of their former masters were to be divided among them by the United States government, and that some time between Christmas and New Year's Day, 1866, every negro was to receive "forty acres and a mule."

The Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil Rights Act. Instead of admitting the southern representatives, Congress appointed a committee of fifteen members to investigate conditions in the seceding states, and recommend the terms on which they should be restored to the Union. Meantime, Congress passed two important measures intended to aid and protect the negroes. One of these continued and enlarged the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been established in 1865 under the control of the Department of War. This Bureau was to undertake a general guardianship over the ignorant and helpless freedmen of the South. It was to aid them in finding work, help them get a start at farming, and protect them from wrongs and oppression. Congress also passed the Civil Rights Act, which declared the freedmen to be citizens of the United States, and guaranteed to them the civil rights of white citizens. That is, negroes were to have the right to make contracts, to purchase and sell lands, and to move about freely. They were not given the right to vote, but in other respects were to have the full benefit and protection of the laws, the same as white citizens.

Both of these measures were vetoed by President Johnson, but Congress passed them over his veto by the necessary two-

thirds vote. The breach between Congress and the President was now complete. To make matters worse, Johnson declared in a public speech that Congress was really not a Congress at all, since eleven states were excluded from representation. He attacked three of the Republican leaders by name — Sumner, Stevens, and Wendell Phillips — and said that they were trying to destroy constitutional government.

The Fourteenth Amendment. One Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act, but another might repeal it. To prevent this, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the national Constitution, which was ratified by three fourths of the states in 1868. This amendment was similar to the Civil Rights Act. It conferred citizenship on all persons born or naturalized in the United States, guaranteed the civil rights of every citizen, and provided that representation in Congress should be based on the number of voters in each state. Southerners who had held political office before the war and had afterwards "engaged in insurrection or rebellion," were disqualified from holding any office, state or national. This amendment also made it unlawful for the United States or any state to pay any debt incurred in aid of the rebellion; and it guaranteed the payment of the public debt of the United States, including that contracted during the Civil War.

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. Acting on President Johnson's advice, all of the seceding states except Tennessee rejected the Fourteenth Amendment. Accordingly, Congress restored Tennessee to the Union, but organized the remaining ten states into five military districts, each ruled by a major-general of the United States Army. It would have been better for the southern states if they had followed the wise counsel of ex-Governor Brown of Georgia: "Agree with thine adversary quickly." For by March, 1867, Congress had completed its plan of reconstruction. To be restored to the Union, each seceding state had to agree to these harsh conditions:

(1) It must elect delegates to a constitutional convention, permitting negroes to vote, together with those few white men who could take the ironclad oath that they had not borne arms

against the United States, or given aid and comfort to its enemies.

(2) The constitution drawn up by this convention must give negroes the right to vote on the same terms as white men.

(3) If adopted by the voters, this constitution must be submitted to Congress for approval.

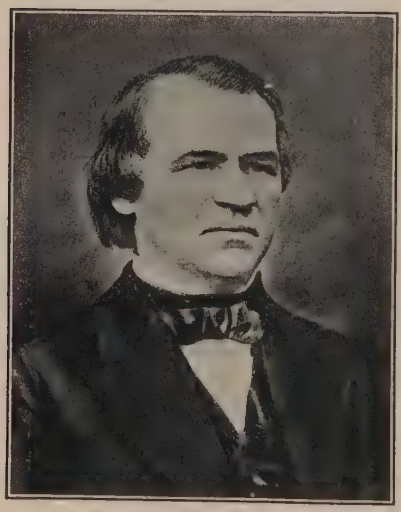
(4) The constitution must repudiate the Confederate debt.

(5) The legislature chosen under this constitution must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Triumph of the Congressional Plan. To the South, the hateful feature of this plan was the negro ballot. The Reconstruction Act denied the ex-Confederates the right to vote, while giving the ballot to the illiterate negro. In other words, it enthroned ignorance at the South. The negroes outnumbered the white voters in several states, and their governments now fell into the hands of unscrupulous white adventurers known as " carpet-baggers " and " scalawags." The carpet-baggers were northern white men who had gone south to seek their fortunes, and were said to have packed all their belongings in carpet-bags ; while the scalawags were southern men of no standing or character who were eager to share in the spoils of office holding. These new rulers of the South posed as the friends of the negroes, controlled their votes, and plundered the state treasuries almost at will. One by one, the southern states accepted the harsh terms imposed by Congress. Eight of the seceding states were readmitted by 1868, and two years later found Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas again back in the Union. For all time, it was settled that ours is " an indestructible Union of indestructible states."

President Johnson Impeached and Acquitted. Aroused over President Johnson's opposition to its reconstruction policy, Congress in 1867 passed the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade the President to remove federal officers without the consent of the Senate. Even Cabinet officers could not be removed during the presidential term for which they were appointed. Johnson regarded this law as an outrage, since it took from the President a power exercised by that officer since the foundation of our

government. He finally defied Congress by removing his Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who was supporting Congress in its reconstruction policy. The House of Representatives promptly voted to impeach the President for disobeying the Tenure of Office Act, and for other "high crimes and misdemeanors." President Johnson had not really committed any crime, or even a less offense which might warrant his impeachment. But he had used abusive and intemperate language in speaking of Congress, and his aggressive attitude now led to an attempt by the more radical Republican members to remove him from office.



Andrew Johnson

The trial of President Johnson took place before the Senate organized as a court of impeachment, with Chief Justice Chase as presiding officer. Our Constitution requires a two-thirds vote for conviction in such cases; and when the trial drew to a close, the President was acquitted by the narrow margin of one vote. Thirty-five Senators voted "guilty," and nineteen "not guilty." Had the vote been thirty-six to eighteen, he would have been convicted. So Johnson served out the remaining nine months of his stormy term, and the country was spared the disgrace of having its President removed from office because of a party quarrel.

The Carpet-Bag Governments and Negro Rule. The close of the Civil War found the South almost ruined. The opposing armies had destroyed an immense amount of property, while the planters suffered enormous losses from the freeing of their slaves. The southern people had invested millions of dollars in

Confederate bonds, and their soldiers were paid in paper money, all of which was now worthless. But a still greater hardship was in store for the impoverished and defeated South. The new " carpet-bag " governments, supported by federal troops, began a rule of plunder and corruption which made the reconstruction period more unbearable than the war itself.

The experience of South Carolina was typical of what was going on all over the South. The legislature of that state during the years 1868–1872 consisted of one hundred and fifty-five members, two thirds of whom were negroes. Only twenty-two of the members could read and write; thirty members together paid $83 in taxes, while ninety-one members paid no taxes whatever. These patriots openly announced that they intended " to squeeze the state as dry as a sucked orange " ; and one of the colored members gave it as his opinion that " South Carolina ought not to be a state unless she can support her statesmen." The statesmen promptly voted themselves large salaries, let contracts at enormous profits, and divided the proceeds with corrupt contractors. Millions of dollars were wasted and millions were stolen, while the taxpayers had to pay the bills. In a single year, the legislature spent $200,000 in equipping the capitol building with costly armchairs, lounges, and other furniture, including a free bar for the use of the members. When the term of this infamous body came to a close, South Carolina's debt had been increased by twenty-five million dollars.

Conditions were almost as bad in the other southern states, several of which became bankrupt as the rule of plunder continued. In some cases it was impossible to discover the amount of the state debt, because no record was kept of the bond issues. It was estimated in 1872 that the carpet-bag governments in the eleven reconstructed states had increased the state debts by at least $131,000,000.

The Ku Klux Klan. Denied the ballot, southern white men had no legal means of checking this corruption; so they organized a secret society known as the Ku Klux Klan, or Invisible Empire. The object of this society was to secure white rule at the South; to accomplish this, it was determined to intimidate the negroes,

and drive out the carpet-baggers and scalawags. Members of the Klan rode about at night, both horses and riders covered with white sheets, each horse with muffled hoofs so that it walked noiselessly over the ground. To the superstitious negroes, these midnight visitors seemed to be the ghosts of the dead Confederates, returning to rebuke their former slaves. Drawing up before the hut of some negro politician, the horseman, who carried a tank concealed beneath his long white robes, would demand a drink of water, then drink three or four bucketfuls with the remark: "That's good; the first I've had since Shiloh." Another would ask some frightened negro to hold his horse, then taking off what appeared to be his head, would ask him to hold that also. The carpet-baggers and scalawags could not be frightened so easily as the superstitious blacks; but grotesque notices were posted at night on trees or fences, warning them to leave the country. If they failed to heed the warning, the terrible Ku Klux riders would pay them a midnight visit, and perhaps flog them to death.

All over the South the negroes were becoming terrorized, while the carpet-baggers appealed to the federal government for protection. Congress replied by passing the severe "Force Acts" of 1871, which finally broke up the Ku Klux organization. But it was evident that the southern whites would no longer tolerate the rule of the corrupt and ignorant men who were plundering their section; and at last Congress passed a law which permitted southern white men to vote, even though they had supported the Confederacy. The natural leaders of the South then regained control of the government, and the dark days of reconstruction came to an end. The South frankly accepted her defeat in the war, but she has never forgotten the evil days of her carpet-bag governments. Not Appomattox, but the humiliation suffered during her reconstruction, created a bitterness toward the North which only the lapse of half a century could efface.

The Fifteenth Amendment. The Thirteenth Amendment gave the negro freedom, the Fourteenth made him a citizen; one more amendment was necessary to make him a voter. In

the opinion of Congress, the black man's freedom and his rights as a citizen could be protected only by giving him the ballot. So the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted in 1870, forbidding any state to deprive a citizen of the United States of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Before this time, a few northern states permitted the negro to vote, and the reconstructed southern states had been compelled to give him this privilege. The Fifteenth Amendment was an attempt to compel every state to grant the ballot to its colored citizens.

Grant Twice Chosen President. After Vicksburg, General Grant became a presidential possibility; while after Appomattox his popularity at the North was universal. In the last year of Johnson's administration, the Republican convention by unanimous vote named Grant for President (1868). That he was no politician increased Grant's popularity with the masses. The words of his letter of acceptance, "Let us have peace," echoed the wish of a people weary of political wrangling. The Republican platform approved the reconstruction policy of Congress, and favored negro suffrage. The Democrats nominated Governor Seymour of New York, and denounced the reconstruction acts as "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."

The election resulted in a sweeping victory for Grant and the Republican party. A superb soldier, Grant's record as President fell far short of his achievements in the field. President Grant himself was incapable of dishonesty or double-dealing, but he placed too much trust in his political friends and advisers. Corruption and graft marred his administration; but in spite of his political mistakes, the hero of Appomattox was triumphantly reëlected in 1872.

Corruption in Public Life. In the North as at the South, the unsettled conditions following the war furnished many opportunities for graft and dishonesty in public affairs. A notorious political leader, "Boss Tweed," defrauded the treasury of New York City out of $150,000,000 before he ended his career in jail. The *New York Times* and Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*

TWO GREAT QUESTIONS.

Copyright by Harper and Brothers. From A. B. Paine's, "Th. Nast."

J. H. Ingersoll and Company, Contractors, were really Tweed and Company by which firm the Ring swindled the people.

"In the upper picture Greeley appears, asking 'Who is Ingersoll's Company?' and Tweed and his numberless cohorts are there as a reply. In the lower picture the Ring and its friends are formed in a circle, pointing accusingly, one to the other . . . ."

were the forces that brought about the final overthrow of the Tweed Ring. One of Tweed's fellow robbers offered a bribe of five million dollars to George Jones, owner of the *Times*, if he would silence his paper. "I don't think," replied Jones, "the devil will ever make a higher bid for me than that." Thomas Nast supplemented the work of the *Times* by effective cartoons in *Harper's Weekly*, one of which pictured Tweed in the prison stripes which he so well deserved. "Let's stop those pictures," exclaimed Tweed, on seeing this cartoon. "I don't care so much what the papers write about me — my constituents can't read; but they can see pictures." Nast refused the bribe of $500,000 offered to him if he would stop his caricatures and go to Europe.

At Washington, corruption reached even the highest offices in the government. Secretary of War Belknap resigned his office to escape impeachment for bribery. The President's private secretary was a party to frauds which cheated the government out of the internal revenue tax on whisky. Members of Congress accepted presents of stock from the *Credit Mobilier*, a corporation engaged in building the Union Pacific Railroad. This corruption might have gone unrebuked, but Congress finally passed an act which roused a storm of protest. This was the "Salary Grab," a law increasing the salary of Congressmen from $5000 to $7500, and that of the President from $25,000 to $50,000. There was nothing dishonest about the law itself, but the increased pay was made to date from the beginning of the Congressional term. The "back-pay steal" caused the defeat of many Congressmen at the next election, and the new Congress promptly restored the former congressional salary.

Political Reaction — The Liberal Republicans. The result of these conditions was a reform movement in the ranks of the Republican party. The Liberal Republicans, as they were called, demanded: (1) a more liberal policy toward the South; (2) civil service reform, that is, appointments to office on the basis of merit, rather than political "pull"; (3) a reduction of tariff duties; (4) the stamping out of corruption and dishonesty

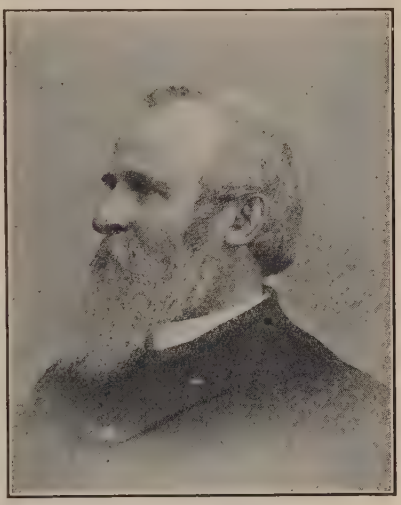
in public affairs. In 1872 they chose for their presidential candidate Horace Greeley, the veteran editor of the *New York Tribune;* and the Democratic party also accepted Greeley as its candidate.

As editor, Greeley had criticized the Democratic party and its policies most severely; so that thousands of Democrats now refused to support him as their presidential candidate. The campaign was one of bitter personalities. Greeley conducted his own campaign fairly, but Thomas Nast caricatured him by turns as a scarecrow, a despot, and an imbecile. Grant's military record had endeared him to the people, and they cared little about his mistakes as President. The campaign resulted in a sweeping victory for Grant and the regular Republicans, who carried every northern state.

In spite of this reverse, the Democrats, aided by Liberal Republicans, won a decisive victory in the Congressional election of 1874. For the first time since 1860, the Democrats found themselves in control of the House of Representatives, and their prospects seemed bright for victory in the next presidential election.

The Presidential Election of 1876. For their presidential candidate in 1876, the Democrats turned to Samuel J. Tilden, the New York governor whose fearless energy had resulted in the conviction of " Boss " Tweed. The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, three times elected governor of Ohio. The contest was close and exciting. At midnight on election day, the crowds went home thinking that Tilden was elected. Next morning it appeared that the result was in doubt, the Republicans claiming the election of Hayes. The dispute was chiefly over the returns from three southern states — South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. These states were still under carpet-bag governments; in them each party claimed the victory, and charged the other with fraud. Were the nineteen electoral votes from these states to be counted for Hayes or for Tilden? It was a weighty question. Tilden had 184 uncontested votes; one of the nineteen votes in dispute, if counted for him, would make him President.

The Electoral Commission. Our Constitution simply provides that the electoral votes shall be opened in the presence of both houses, and shall then be counted. It makes no provision for settling the dispute in case any state sends in two sets of electoral votes. Plainly, the Republican Senate and the Democratic House would never agree as to which set of votes should be received. After a long discussion, Congress decided that the votes should be counted by an Electoral Commission. This body was to consist of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. Eight of the members appointed were Republicans and seven were Democrats. The Commission decided each contest by a party vote of eight to seven, in favor of the Republicans. Hayes was then declared President by an electoral vote of 185 to 184.



Rutherford B. Hayes

The decision was a bitter disappointment to the Democrats, who had a majority of the popular vote. Their candidate set an example of true patriotism by quietly accepting the decision against him, and Hayes was peacefully inaugurated on March 4, 1877. To avoid the danger of a similar dispute, Congress in 1887 passed a law regulating the method of counting electoral votes. Each state is to decide for itself how any election contest is to be settled, and the decision by the state is generally final.

The End of Reconstruction. Soon after his inauguration, President Hayes withdrew the federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina. At once the carpet-bag governments in those states collapsed, the southern whites again took control of their own affairs, and reconstruction came to an end. The

radical Republican leaders were indignant at the President's action; but Hayes was a man of high moral courage, who did not hesitate to do his duty as he saw it, even though it meant a breach with the politicians. The President appointed a Southerner as his Postmaster-General, made a tour of the South, and did much to lessen the bitterness resulting from the war and reconstruction.

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"Liberty Enlightening the World," New York Harbor

This statue, the work of the French artist, Auguste Bartholdi of Colmar, Alsace, was presented by the people of France to the United States in 1886.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THIRTY YEARS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1865–1895

The United States and Europe. The triumph of the Union cause in the Civil War brought about a change in the attitude of European powers toward the United States. The nation which had successfully waged one of the greatest wars of modern times was treated with increased respect. The European governments that had been inclined to favor the Confederacy found, as Lord Salisbury said, that they "had been backing the wrong horse," and became anxious to cultivate the favor of the winner. The close of civil strife left the United States free to take a firm stand upon several important issues which had to be postponed while the Union was fighting for its existence.

The French in Mexico, 1861–1867. As a result of Mexico's refusal to pay her debts, France, Spain, and Great Britain sent over an armed force in 1861 to occupy her seaports. Great Britain and Spain soon withdrew their troops, leaving France to act alone. Napoleon III, the ruler of France, was planning to make himself more popular at home by establishing a French empire in Mexico. The Mexican Republic was torn by one of its chronic revolutions, and Napoleon believed that many of the Mexicans themselves would look with favor upon a government strong enough to maintain law and order. Accordingly, French troops occupied the City of Mexico; and at the dictation of Napoleon, a few Mexican leaders voted to establish an empire, with Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor. This action was a flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but Napoleon counted on the fact that the United States was engaged in a life and death struggle for its own existence. If the Confederates won the war, as he expected, the North could not interfere with his plans; while if the Union should be

victorious, it would not be easy to undo his work if the Mexicans themselves accepted the new government.

Soon after the victory at Appomattox, Secretary Seward informed Napoleon that the United States would no longer tolerate a French army on American soil for the purpose of compelling Mexico to accept a foreign ruler. As a hint that our government was in earnest, General Sheridan with 50,000 men was ordered to the Rio Grande. Napoleon had promised Maximilian the aid of his army for at least three years, but he feared that the French people would not support him in a war with the United States. So he ordered his soldiers back to France, whereupon the Mexicans overthrew the imperial government, put Maximilian to death, and restored the Republic. Once more the Monroe Doctrine was vindicated.

The Purchase of Alaska, 1867. While these stirring events were taking place in Mexico, Secretary Seward was carrying on friendly negotiations with Russia for the purchase of Alaska. Russia had found this territory a source of heavy expense rather than of profit, largely because of her incompetent and corrupt governors. Secretary Seward had a true notion of the future possibilities of Alaska, and was also anxious to show our appreciation of Russia's friendship during the Civil War. So when the Russian minister at Washington offered to sell Alaska, our Secretary of State promptly signed the treaty. Many people thought that the price of $7,200,000 was too much to pay for a "vast area of rocks and ice," and called the treaty "Seward's Folly." However, the Senate did not wish to offend our good friend Russia, and the treaty was promptly ratified. Alaska added 577,000 square miles to our national domain, and as we now know, is a territory of immense value. Her products of gold, copper, fur, timber, and fish have yielded hundreds of millions of dollars to the United States.

Another opportunity for expansion was rejected in 1877, when our government declined to annex the Samoan Islands at the request of their inhabitants. Secretary Seward also tried to purchase from Denmark her islands in the West Indies, but Congress withheld approval. After several other attempts,

the United States finally purchased the three islands in 1917 for $25,000,000. The Virgin Islands, as they are now called, are important in connection with the defense of the Panama Canal.

The Alabama Claims. With Great Britain we had a serious dispute growing out of her failure to observe certain rules of neutrality during the Civil War. Several Confederate cruisers had been built and fitted out in British shipyards to prey upon the commerce of the United States. Our minister at London repeatedly asked the British government to prevent these ships from leaving port, but no action was taken. As a result, immense damage was inflicted on the commerce of the North. Before she was sunk by a Union warship, the *Alabama* succeeded in destroying sixty merchant vessels; while the *Shenandoah* and the *Florida* also made many captures.

After the war, public opinion in the United States demanded a settlement with Great Britain. After a good deal of controversy, the two countries finally signed the Treaty of Washington by which they agreed to arbitrate the dispute. The "Alabama Claims," as they were called, were to be decided by an international court of five members meeting at Geneva, Switzerland. One arbitrator was chosen by the United States, one by Great Britain, and one each by the governments of Switzerland, Italy, and Brazil. The decision of this tribunal was, that Great Britain had failed in her duty as a neutral in connection with three of the Confederate cruisers — the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah;* and that she should pay the United States $15,500,000 for the damage done by these ships. Great Britain paid the money promptly, and the Geneva Award gave the world a splendid example of arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations.

Treaties Concerning Naturalization. Immigration to the United States had fallen off during the war, but beginning with 1866, more than 300,000 foreigners were landing on our shores each year. The question now arose, could these persons renounce their allegiance to their former governments, and become naturalized citizens of the United States? The leading powers of Europe said that they could not do this without the

consent of the country whose allegiance they wished to renounce. On the other hand, the United States maintained that the consent of the foreign government was not necessary to enable a man to become a naturalized citizen of this country. The position taken by the United States was a departure from the practice of centuries, but the leading nations of Europe finally agreed to it. Treaties were signed with the United States during the years from 1868 to 1872, under which a citizen or subject of one country who becomes naturalized under the laws of another and resides there for five years, is recognized as having become a citizen or subject of the latter country.

Relations with Latin-America. Our relations with the countries of Central and South America became more cordial in the years that followed the Civil War. During the conflict

The Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C.

Home of the international organization maintained by the twenty-one American republics.

between Spain and Peru, Chile, and Ecuador (1864–1869), the United States offered her friendly services as mediator, and finally persuaded the warring nations to sign an armistice. A few years later, Argentina and Paraguay submitted their territorial dispute to President Hayes as arbitrator. Costa Rica and Nicaragua submitted a similar boundary dispute to the decision of President Cleveland, while Argentina and

Brazil asked President Harrison to act as umpire in their contest. Numerous disputes between the United States and our southern neighbors were also disposed of by friendly arbitration. For example, our claims against Colombia on account of riots at Panama were submitted for decision to the British minister at Washington; while other claims against Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela were settled in the same friendly spirit.

The first Pan-American Congress in which the United States took part met at Washington in 1889–1890. Nineteen American republics were represented, the object of the Congress being to promote better relations among the nations of the two continents. A plan of arbitration was recommended as a means of settling international disputes; and although this plan was afterwards rejected, its proposal marked a forward step. The real achievement of the Congress was the establishment of the Pan-American Union at Washington, composed of representatives from the various Latin-American republics, with our Secretary of State as chairman.

Disputes with Chile and Italy. The United States had serious disputes with both Chile and Italy in the year 1891. Our grievance against Chile was due to the fact that a party of American sailors was attacked by a mob in the streets of Valparaiso, two of their number being killed and several wounded. For this outrage Chile paid an indemnity of $75,000.

In the difficulty with Italy, a mob in our own country was the aggressor. Eleven Italians under arrest in New Orleans for the murder of the chief of police, were taken from jail by a mob and shot to death. Several of the victims were Italian subjects, and their government promptly demanded the punishment of the mob's leaders, and an indemnity for the families of the men who were killed. Our Secretary of State pointed out that the United States had no authority to punish the mob, and that its action could be punished only by the state of Louisiana. This explanation did not satisfy the Italian government, which recalled its minister from Washington, while our minister left Rome. Congress finally settled the dispute by paying $25,000 to the Italian government for the benefit of the families of the murdered men.

Affairs in the Pacific — The Samoan Islands. Three events during the decade from 1885 to 1895 showed that the United States was vitally interested in the affairs of the Pacific Ocean. The first was a dispute over the Samoan Islands, the second a controversy over the Behring Sea fisheries, while the third was Hawaii's request for annexation to the United States. The dispute over the Samoan Islands was due to Germany's jealousy of our growing power in the Pacific. These islands were then under the protection of three countries, the United States, Germany, and Great Britain. Anxious to build up a colonial empire, the German chancellor, Bismarck, planned to oust the British and Americans. All three countries sent warships to the islands, but diplomacy finally settled the quarrel. Some years later, it was agreed that the United States should have the island of Tutuila with the harbor of Pago-Pago, the remainder of the islands passing under German rule. The Samoan quarrel showed the need of a stronger navy to protect our rights. Congress appropriated $40,000,000 for new warships, and within a few years our country rose from twelfth to fifth place among naval powers.

Arbitration of the Behring Sea Dispute. The year 1893 marked the settlement of a long-standing dispute with Great Britain over the seal fisheries. Ownership of Alaska, the United States claimed, included jurisdiction over the waters of Behring Sea, with the exclusive right to hunt seals there. Great Britain denied this claim, insisting that our jurisdiction extended only to a line three miles out from shore. When United States cruisers seized a number of Canadian vessels as poachers, Great Britain sent a note of protest to our Department of State. At length it was agreed to arbitrate the dispute. The decision of the arbitration tribunal was against the claim of the United States, although rules were laid down to prevent the extermination of the seal herds.

Revolution in Hawaii. A revolution broke out in Hawaii in 1893, when the native ruler tried to overthrow the constitution and rule as an absolute monarch. American settlers living there deposed the queen, and after setting up a republic, asked

to have Hawaii annexed to the United States. President Harrison sent an annexation treaty to the Senate, but it was near the close of his term, and the Senate failed to act on it. His successor, President Cleveland, was opposed to the entire movement; he withdrew the treaty from the Senate, and so the annexation of Hawaii was postponed for several years.

The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute, 1895. For more than half a century, there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the western boundary of British Guiana. The United States repeatedly asked Great Britain to arbitrate the question, but she declined to do this. Finally President Cleveland sent his famous Venezuelan message to Congress, declaring that the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States the right to insist upon arbitration of the boundary line. As the chief power in America, and the natural protector of American interests, the United States would "resist by every means in its power" any attempt by Great Britain to appropriate territory belonging to Venezuela.

The British government was indignant over this message, which sounded very much like a challenge; but public opinion in the United States strongly supported the President in his bold stand for the Monroe Doctrine and the rights of a weaker nation. The war cloud disappeared when Great Britain consented to submit the entire question to arbitration. The result was that she received five sixths of the territory in dispute, Venezuela the remainder. Best of all, the two great English-speaking powers were on more friendly terms than ever, and arbitration had won another victory as a means of settling disputes between nations.

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The Cathedral, Mexico City

One of the fine Renaissance structures, founded in 1573, which the Mexicans have preserved from the days of Spanish rule.

CHAPTER XL

THE NEW WEST AND THE NEW SOUTH

The West before 1865. The twenty years following the Civil War saw a wonderful development of the region beyond the Mississippi River. Before the war, the country west of the one hundredth meridian was practically uninhabited by white men, except in California and Utah, and in the Columbia Valley. This new West embraced a vast expanse of territory, stretching twelve hundred miles from east to west, and nearly the same distance from north to south. The rainfall was less than in the central Mississippi Valley, and most of this area was thought to be a desert waste, unfit for agriculture. Vast herds of buffalo roamed over the plains, which were the hunting grounds of still powerful Indian tribes. The hostility of the Indians, the scanty rainfall, and the lack of information concerning the hidden resources of the country were factors that delayed the westward movement. But the supreme obstacle to the development of the Far West was the absence of transportation facilities. Throughout all this vast area of one million square miles, there was not a single railroad to bring settlers from the East, or to carry back the products of the West. As in the days of the Forty-Niners, settlers had to follow the caravan route along the Oregon and California trails.

Congress Charters the Union Pacific Railroad. Before the year 1860, the East had shown little interest in the project of a railway to the Pacific. Congress discussed the question, but could not decide whether to build a northern or a southern line. The Civil War changed this situation. The South had attempted to secede; was there not danger that California and the Oregon country might break away from a Union so remote? Spurred to action at last, Congress in 1862 granted a charter to

the Union Pacific Railway for a line from Omaha westward across the continent. In the same year, the state of California chartered the Central Pacific, which began a line from San Francisco eastward across the Sierras. Congress gave each railroad liberal grants of land along its line, offering ten square miles of land for each mile of track built. The government also loaned the roads large sums of money, taking railway bonds as security.

Building the First Continental Railway. The construction of this first continental railway was the greatest engineering feat in

Driving the Last Spike in the Continental Railroad

From the original painting by Thomas Hill in the Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

America prior to the building of the Panama Canal. At the California end, the company had to bring rails and locomotives from the East around Cape Horn. There were mountains to be tunneled, rivers to be bridged, tracks to be laid across lava deserts. The Indian tribes saw with dismay the white man's civilization closing in on them from both east and west; and they attacked the construction gangs with savage fury. In spite of every obstacle, an army of laborers pushed the work

to completion within seven years. On May 10, 1869, the line from the east met the line from the west at a point near Ogden, Utah. There, in the presence of a crowd of spectators, the last tie was laid, and Governor Leland Stanford drove the golden spike presented by the state of California. The Far West was at last firmly bound to the East by a band of iron. Within a few years, the buffalo disappeared from the western prairies, the Indians fought their last hopeless battles, and an army of settlers found new homes in the land of unlimited possibilities. The West had come into its heritage.

The Northern Pacific Railroad. A second Pacific railroad was completed some years later to help move the human tide into the northwestern country. This new road was the Northern Pacific, connecting Duluth on Lake Superior with Tacoma on Puget Sound. Within a few years after its completion, one million people were making their homes along its route, and six large states had been organized and admitted to the Union. Washington, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota gained statehood in 1889, Wyoming and Idaho in 1890. So rapid were the changes that one writer of the time could say: "Living men, not very old yet, have seen the Indians on the war-path, the buffaloes stopping the trains, the cowboy driving his cattle, the herder watching his sheep, the government irrigation dam, and the automobile, — have seen every one of these slides which progress puts for a moment into its magic lantern and removes to replace with a new one." As the buffalo disappeared, the prairies upon which he fed were turned into grazing land for domestic cattle, and next into corn and wheat fields. The grain was shipped over the railroads to the East, and thence by ocean vessels to feed the people of Europe. By the year 1880, the fertile prairies of the West had become the nation's granary.

The Homestead Act of 1862. Another great aid to the development of the West was the Homestead Act of 1862. Under this law, the head of a family might secure title to 160 acres of public land by settling upon it and cultivating it for five years. About this time, too, the President was authorized to

Plowing Four to Five Acres a Day

Courtesy of the Moline Plow Company.

Cultivating Two Rows at a Time with Tractor

Courtesy of the International Harvester Company of America.

Tractor Disc Harrow

appoint a Commissioner of Agriculture, whose office gives the farmers scientific information about crops, soils, and live stock. Irrigation came into general use to make up for the scanty rainfall; and within a shorter time than any recorded in history, the West was peopled with sturdy pioneers who knew how to utilize its resources.

Farm Machinery Aids the Growth of the West. The use of labor-saving machinery was an important factor in transforming the western prairies into fertile farms. When labor was plentiful before the war, many farmers were skeptical about the new appliances; but when the fighting began and they could not get help, the manufacturers could hardly fill their orders for machinery. Mowing machines, drills, threshers, and traction engines made it possible for one man in 1880 to do the work that required twelve men in 1860. On the largest farms of the West, enormous steam traction engines are now used to operate plows, harrows, drills, and harvesting machines. The complete harvester cuts down the standing grain, threshes it, and measures, fills, and ties the sacks while it travels across the field. Nothing remains except to deliver the grain to immense elevators where it is graded and stored, to be afterwards ground into flour for the world's markets.

Discovery of Gold and Silver Mines. The lure of gold played a large part in the upbuilding of the West. The discovery of rich deposits of the precious metal brought 60,000 gold seekers into Colorado in a single year, and the cities of Boulder, Denver, and Leadville sprang into magic life. Colorado was organized as a separate territory in 1861, and admitted as the Centennial state in 1876. Rich silver deposits brought a throng of "Fifty-Niners" into Nevada, which gained statehood in 1864. Utah was first settled by Mormons, under their leader Brigham Young. By means of irrigation, these industrious settlers changed a desert waste into a prosperous farming region; and Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896.

Indian Wars. In the Northwest, as in California and Colorado, the gold seekers came before the farmers or the railroads. When the precious ore was discovered on the reservation of the

fierce Sioux tribes in southwestern Dakota Territory, the white intruders were attacked by several thousand warriors under their chief, Sitting Bull. The desperate resistance of the Sioux was a hopeless struggle, the final stand of the Indian against the tide of civilization. Even the destruction of General Custer's entire command at the Little Big Horn did nothing except to prolong

Courtesy of John A. Widtsoe.

The Temple and Tabernacle, Salt Lake City

The migration of the Mormons from the east occurred from 1845 to 1848. They brought overland from the Mississippi Valley all their building supplies. Instead of nails, leather thongs and wooden bolts were used in building the Tabernacle.

the conflict. In this combat, Custer's force was outnumbered twelve to one. Two hundred and sixty soldiers went into the fight, and every man was killed. In the end, the Sioux were defeated and obliged to give up their hunting ranges on the Black Hills.

Between the years 1865 and 1880, there was almost constant warfare with the Indians, usually caused by attempts of the

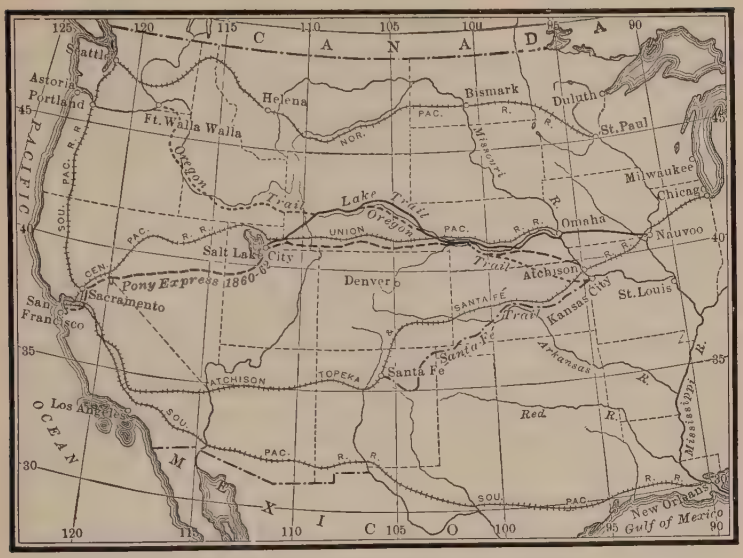
tribes to leave their reservations, or by the encroachment of white settlers. Fighting with the Indians during these years cost the country twenty-two million dollars, and the lives of many soldiers. Our unjust treatment of the natives was clearly pointed out by President Hayes: "In many instances when the Indians had settled down upon lands assigned to them by compact and had begun to support themselves by their own labor, they were rudely jostled off and thrust into the wilderness again. Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part."

Custer's Monument

Marking the scene of Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn River, Montana.

Our Indian Policy. For years our policy in dealing with the Indians was to place them on reservations, where they kept up their tribal organization, subject to the control of Indian agents appointed by the President. As the whites pressed westward, they constantly encroached upon the lands reserved to the Indians, whereupon the federal government would make a new treaty with the tribe for the cession of its lands, and move it farther west. It was a bitter but true complaint that one of the Sioux warriors made to the peace commissioners after the fighting in the Black Hills: "Tell your people that since the Great Father promised we should never be removed, we have been moved five times. I think you had better put the Indians on wheels, and you can run them about wherever you wish."

The Indians on the reservations lived an aimless, indolent



Railroad Development in the West

Showing the Mormon trail from Nauvoo to Utah, the route of the Pony Express, and the principal railroads to the Pacific.

life, fed and clothed by the government; and they were demoralized by the white man's liquor as they had been since the days of Columbus. Reservation life, and the policy of making treaties with the Indians as if they were separate nations, proved a complete failure; and beginning in 1887, a new Indian policy was adopted. Since this time, the Indians have been dealt with as individuals, rather than as tribes. In many cases, the head of the family has been given his own farm under restrictions that prevent him from selling it for a period of years. By this new plan, about one half of the 300,000 Indians living in the West have received farms of their own. Thus after many years of failure in our Indian policy, a wise attempt is being made to encourage the Indians to become citizens and to look after themselves.

Development of the Southwest. While the Union Pacific was opening the Central West, and the Northern Pacific the great Northwest, a third railway was being built through the southern part of the United States. This was the Santa Fé, which

crossed Kansas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Los Angeles. Connecting lines were built into Texas, and soon the Lone Star State had the largest railway mileage of any state in the Union. San Antonio, Dallas, and Fort Worth became thriving inland centers of trade, while Galveston and Houston developed into important seaports.

The Santa Fé road also hastened the development of Oklahoma, which formed the western part of what was called the Indian Territory. Large tracts of public land were thrown open in this territory in 1889; and on the day announced in the President's proclamation, one hundred thousand men, women, and children raced across the border to secure homesteads. Before nightfall, Guthrie was a city of 10,000 inhabitants, with a bank, a daily paper, and a city council; while thousands of farms had been staked out on the Oklahoma plains. Within a year, there were 60,000 white settlers in the territory; and in 1907 Oklahoma, to which Indian Territory had been united, was admitted as the forty-sixth state.

The lack of rainfall in Arizona and New Mexico delayed the development of this region, but irrigation at last solved the problem, and the Southwest joined the march of progress. The railroads brought in thousands of settlers, who engaged in mining, agriculture, and stock raising. Congress admitted Arizona and New Mexico as states in 1912, thus completing the Federal Union.

The Passing of the American Frontier. With the settlement of Oklahoma and the six northwestern states admitted in 1889–1890, the public lands of the United States were practically exhausted. The building of the Pacific railroads and the influx of settlers that followed, had done their work; and for the first time in our national life, there was no longer a western frontier. With the disappearance of free public lands, a new era began in our history. Men who were restless and discontented, or who had made a failure in the settled portion of the country, could no longer mend their fortunes in the West. As a result, there were more conflicts between labor and capital than ever before.

The frontier had a permanent effect on American life, for it made our government more democratic than it otherwise would have been. The frontiersmen loved freedom, and were independent in thought and action; they disliked restraint, hated delay, and thought that the East was much too conservative. The West led the way in granting universal suffrage, and in demanding the abolition of slavery; while from the rude cabins of the frontier came such leaders as William Henry Harrison, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln.

The New South. The rebuilding of the South in the half century following the Civil War is one of the most striking chapters in our history. That great conflict brought ruin and poverty to the southern states; and for ten years after its close, they had to endure the robbery and demoralization of the reconstruction governments. With the end of reconstruction, the South took up with splendid courage the task of creating a new industrial life. The old plantation system with its picturesque life and slave labor was gone forever. The negro now worked for wages, like the field hands at the North, or else cultivated a few acres of his own. The South soon found that free labor is more efficient than slave labor. Emancipation also proved a boon to the poor whites of the South, who made better progress now that manual labor was no longer thought degrading.

Changes in Agriculture. The use of free labor was only one of the many changes in southern industry. Another was the breaking up of the large plantations. Many planters were compelled to sell part of their lands at the close of the war, for emancipation had destroyed much of their working capital; and between 1860 and 1880, the average size of the southern farms decreased one half. The division of these large estates proved a boon to the South. Small farms meant better methods of production, a more scientific tillage of the soil. On the great plantations before the war, there were immense tracts of wild woodland; to-day these wastes have become small farms, cultivated with careful economy. As a result, thousands of immigrants from the North have found homes in the new South.

This has led to an increase in the number of schools and churches, making rural life in the South more like that in the North and West.

Another change is the greater variety of crops that are grown. Before the war, the southern planter relied on one staple crop, either cotton, tobacco, sugar, or rice. Other crops were neglected; as a rule, even the meat eaten by the landowner's family was not produced on the plantation. To-day the southern farmer is learning to diversify his crops, and to raise cattle and hogs as well as cotton and tobacco. Dairying, horticulture, and

© *Ewing Galloway*

Interior of a Modern Dairy Barn

truck raising have become important industries as a result of using resources that slavery left untouched.

Growth of Manufactures. Most striking of all is the growth of southern manufactures. Before the war, the South was content to be a producer of raw materials. It was an agricultural section, exchanging its staples for manufactured goods made in the North or in Europe. To-day, while agriculture is still the dominant industry, manufactures are developing rapidly. Many cotton factories have been established, and the mills of North Carolina and South Carolina spin more than one half of the cotton grown in those states.

The immense deposits of coal underlying the mountains of the South, its vast resources of natural gas, and large forests

of pine and hardwood, are being drawn upon to make it a manufacturing region. A rich mineral section stretching from West Virginia to northern Alabama has been opened up; and the proximity of coking coal and limestone to the ore has built up a great iron industry. In 1890 the South produced as much coal, iron ore, and pig iron as the entire country did in 1870. The South now rivals Pennsylvania in the production of pig iron; and Birmingham, Alabama, has become a second Pittsburgh. Saw mills and furniture factories are utilizing the wealth of the southern forests, and tobacco factories have multiplied. This growth of manufactures has increased the number of dwellers in towns and cities, thus creating a better market for the farm products of the surrounding country.

Southern Railways. The South, like the West, had been greatly aided by the construction of new railway lines. The Southern Pacific is a transcontinental line connecting New Orleans and Galveston with Los Angeles and San Francisco; while a network of railroads consolidated into three or four immense systems now covers the South. Through their immigration and agricultural bureaus the railways have done much to attract settlers, and to build up southern industries. A Cotton Centennial Celebration was held at New Orleans in 1884 to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the first shipment to Europe of a bale of American cotton. This exposition, like that held at Atlanta in 1895, at Nashville in 1897, and at Jamestown in 1907, showed what the new South is accomplishing in education, agriculture, manufacturing, and mining.

Progress in Education. There has also been a marked advance in education. The South made little progress toward a system of free public schools before the Civil War; but to-day every southern state maintains a complete school system, including separate schools for the colored children. The number of public high schools has increased to more than 3000, while for higher education there are state universities supported by public taxes. Illiteracy has been reduced from thirty-two per cent in 1890 to seventeen per cent in 1910. During the last twenty-five years the number of school children and the number

of schools have doubled, while the expenditure for education has increased threefold. Many industrial schools for the colored race have been established, the most noted of which is the Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington. He was graduated from another excellent school, Hampton Institute.

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CHAPTER XLI

THE AGE OF BIG BUSINESS

The Growth of Corporations. The rise of large corporations in the business world was one of the results of the Industrial Revolution. That revolution was marked by the change from hand labor to machine labor. At first the partnership was employed as a means of obtaining the larger capital demanded by the new industrial methods. But the age of big business that followed the Civil War demanded an immense amount of capital, more than even wealthy partners could supply; and hence the corporation gradually came into use for large industrial enterprises. The corporation secures large amounts of capital by dividing its stock into many small shares. These shares are sold to numerous individuals who, by their purchase, become stockholders in the corporation. The control of the corporation is vested in a small board of directors elected by the stockholders, and having power to act for them in most cases.

Combinations of Capital. As the corporations grew larger and stronger, they became eager to buy out or drive out their smaller rivals, whose competition often interfered with their control of the market. The Standard Oil Company formed a combination of oil refineries in 1882, and its example was soon followed by the Sugar Trust, the Whisky Trust, and many others. By uniting all the large companies in one line of production into a single great combination or "trust," many advantages were gained. Before the Sugar Trust was formed, about forty sugar refineries were in operation, but none of them could work to their full capacity; and as a result of keen competition, eighteen of them went into bankruptcy. The trust was formed, and it promptly shut down several of the refineries which it had

bought. It then ran the rest to their full capacity all the time, and in this way made a large saving.

Large combinations are also able to make a saving in the matter of freight charges. For example, the Standard Oil Company, with its large refineries at Bayonne, New Jersey, on the Atlantic seaboard, and others near Chicago, has a great advantage over its rivals that have but a single refinery from which to ship all orders both east and west. Again, manufacturing establishments are often embarrassed by the difficulty of securing a supply of raw materials at the exact time needed, and in the proper quantity and quality. On the other hand, the producers of raw material are sometimes unable to secure a market for their product. Hence many corporations own or control companies which produce the raw materials that they use. For example, the United States Steel Corporation, with its own ore mines at the head of Lake Superior; its fleet of boats for carrying the ore down the lakes; its own railroad, the Bessemer and Lake Erie, for transporting ore from Lake Erie to the Pittsburgh district; and with its own coal mines for producing coke and steam coal, — controls not only the sources of its raw materials, but also the transportation of these materials to the point of use.

Another example, typical of the moderate-size corporations, is the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, which owns coal mines to supply its fuel, chemical plants to furnish the materials needed in making glass, besides a dozen widely distributed plants for the manufacture of its finished product. A combination of this character has great advantages over a single factory which must buy its raw materials in an uncertain market; and such combinations are not only legitimate, but are imperative to large-scale production.

The Trusts and the Public. If the public could receive the benefit of these savings, combinations would be an unmixed blessing; but if the savings go to pay large dividends instead of lowering prices, then the consumer is not benefited. The danger in the case of large combinations is that of monopoly; for with competition destroyed, the trust or combination is able

to fix the price to the consumer. Then too, the large combinations have at times used unfair and illegal methods in crushing out their smaller competitors. For example, the Standard Oil Company was able for many years to secure lower freight rates from the railroads than those paid by its competitors.

At length it became necessary to regulate the trusts by law in order to protect independent producers from unfair methods of competition, and to guard consumers against the dangers of monopoly prices. State after state tried to curb the power of the trusts, but these state laws proved ineffective. This was partly due to the difficulty of the problem, partly to the fact that each state could regulate only the business which the corporation carried on within its own borders. So in 1890, Congress tried to solve the problem by passing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. This law made illegal all trusts or combinations which aim to secure a monopoly, as well as any agreement in restraint of interstate or foreign trade. The Sherman Act proved almost as ineffective as the measures passed by the states; for although there were many prosecutions, it was impossible to prevent the movement toward combination.

In 1914, Congress again tried to solve the problem by providing for a Federal Trade Commission of five members appointed by the President. This Commission is to supervise the activities of large corporations so as to prevent unfair competition. The Clayton Anti-Trust Law, also passed in 1914, seeks to check monopoly by naming the particular acts which are in restraint of trade, and therefore illegal.

Railway Combinations. In the railway as in the industrial world, combination was the rule after the Civil War. Many new lines were being built, and many of the smaller roads were combined into larger units. For example, the five lines between Buffalo and Chicago along the southern shore of Lake Erie were united to form the "Lake Shore," now a part of the New York Central system. This combination of the smaller roads was at first opposed by the public; but it was the natural result of the wasteful competition that had prevailed in the railway world.

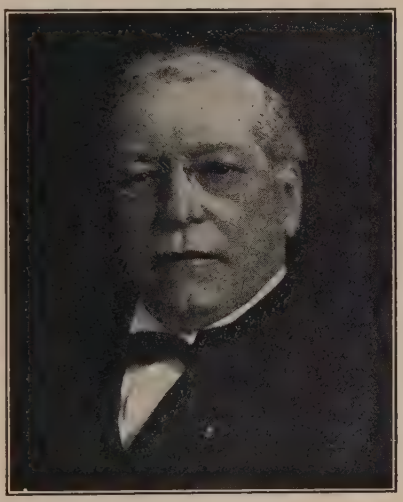
In many cases this excessive competition had proved injurious both to the roads and to the communities which they served. Between two points with a single line of railroad, rates were often exorbitant; but if competing lines connected two cities, the rates were sometimes below cost. In the latter case, the railways compensated themselves by heavy charges between points where there was no competition. Not only did the railroads discriminate between localities, but lower rates were often granted to favored shippers, thus making possible the creation of monopolies in certain industries.

The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Both the shippers and the public at last demanded that the government should take steps to regulate the railway traffic. Relief was first sought from the state governments, many of which established railway commissions, with power to fix maximum rates. But regulation by any state could apply only to the business wholly within its own boundaries; whereas two thirds of the revenue of the railroads was derived from interstate traffic, or that between different states.

Unless the federal government should take the matter in hand, it was plain that there could be no effective control of the railroads. Accordingly, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. This measure prohibits charges which favor certain individuals or localities; it requires the railroads to publish their rates for carrying passengers and freight, and forbids changes in rates except with the approval of the Commission. To enforce its provisions, the President appoints an Interstate Commerce Commission of nine members. This Commission has power to require reports as to the operation of railroads, to hear complaints, to summon witnesses, to make investigations, and under the Hepburn Act of 1906, to fix maximum rates. The Commission may forbid railroads to continue actions which it deems illegal, and may establish maximum rates by which the roads are bound; but its decisions are not final, being subject to review by the courts.

How Combinations of Capital Affect the Laborer. The movement toward the control of industry by large corporations

had far-reaching results on the position of the workers. The personal relation that had existed between the owner of a small manufacturing concern and his workmen was now completely destroyed. The stockholders in the corporation had no first-hand information about factory conditions, but they were anxious for large dividends; while the directors and managers usually took slight interest in the welfare of their laborers. The very size of the large corporations was a menace to the workmen; for the rate of wages, as well as the price to the consumer, was no longer controlled by free competition. Disputes between labor and capital became more frequent and more violent; and the only recourse of the laborers was to combine, as the capitalists themselves had done.



Samuel Gompers

Through his effort has come much of the legislation uplifting labor and improving workingmen's social conditions.

Labor Unions and Factory Laws. Small labor unions had existed before the Civil War, but they were not combined into a single organization. An attempt was made soon after the war to unite all the laborers of the country in an order called the Knights of Labor. A larger organization was formed in 1881, known as the American Federation of Labor. This is a combination of the labor unions of the United States and Canada; and under the presidency of Samuel Gompers, it has become a powerful agency for the promotion of labor interests. The object of labor unions is to better the condition of the workers, to secure higher wages, and shorter hours of work. In the early days of the factory system, men worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. At present the average

working day is about nine hours, and the goal of the eight-hour day seems about to be realized.

In many other ways, labor conditions have been improved. Nearly every state has factory laws, which are enforced by inspectors who travel over the district. Factory laws have three principal objects. First, the protection of the health of employees, by securing proper ventilation, lighting, and good sanitary conditions in each factory or workshop. Second, the prevention of accidents, by requiring guards on dangerous machinery and elevators; also by requiring the inspection of boilers, and the construction of suitable exits and fire escapes. Third, the regulation of the conditions of employment, especially in the case of women and children, by restricting the hours of labor, prohibiting night work, and forbidding the employment of children under a certain age, usually fourteen or sixteen years. Within recent years, many states have passed Workmen's Compensation Acts, under which laborers who are injured may receive compensation without bringing suit in the courts for damages. These laws are in the interest of the public as well as the laborers; for the welfare of the state depends upon the welfare of its workers.

Employers' Associations and Welfare Work. The organization of strong labor unions led in turn to the formation of employers' associations, to resist the increasing demands of the laborers. A National Association of Manufacturers was formed in 1893, which included employers in all parts of the country; and a later organization, known as the Citizens' Industrial Association, appeared in 1903. This organization is made up of national, district, and local associations of employers, just as the American Federation of Labor is made up of national, district, and city labor unions. The object of these employers' associations is to protect the interests of individual members, to resist unfair demands and methods on the part of labor, and to secure coöperation among employers in case of strikes.

Instead of seeking to resist the growing demands of labor, other employers have tried to improve labor conditions by means of welfare work among their employees. Many em-

ployers have provided night schools for their workmen, besides parks and playgrounds as recreation centers, together with free medical attendance, accident insurance, and old age pensions. Reading-rooms, baths, and public dining-rooms are now often included in model factories.

The Ford Automobile Company of Detroit has introduced a still different plan for its army of workers. The Ford plan is not to build libraries, gymnasiums, and lunch rooms for the employees, but instead to give them the money to do things for themselves in a way best suited to the needs of each individual. In 1914 the Ford Company reduced its hours of labor from nine to eight, established a minimum wage of five dollars a day, and inaugurated a profit-sharing plan under which workers of good character and habits received five, six, and seven dollars a day. The first year's trial of the new plan increased the efficiency of the Ford shops by nearly twenty per cent. After two years of profit sharing, the men had increased their deposits in savings banks by $5,000,000, their life insurance by $12,000,000, and their investment in homes by nearly $7,000,000.

Strikes and Industrial Unrest. The strike is the most powerful weapon employed by laborers to enforce their demands. From 1877 to 1905 there were thirty-six thousand strikes in the United States, involving nearly nine million workers. Usually these strikes were to secure recognition of the unions, better pay or shorter hours for the workers, or to prevent a decrease in wages.

In 1877 occurred the greatest strike which the country had known up to that time. It began on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the immediate cause being a ten per cent cut in wages. The strike spread to the lines of the Pennsylvania when that company ordered all freight trains run as double-headers, so as to dispense with the services of one half of its men. When the railroads attempted to run trains with new crews in place of the strikers, serious riots occurred. The strikers were determined that their places should not be filled by non-union men. For several days the city of Pittsburgh was in the hands of a mob that destroyed ten million dollars' worth of railroad property.

Locomotives, cars, round-houses, and freight-depots were burned; the state militia failed to put down the rioters, and not until the President sent federal troops to the city was order restored. The courts afterwards held that Allegheny County was liable to the railroad company for the property destroyed. This decision made it clear that the public, as well as employers and workmen, has a vital interest in labor disputes.

Industrial Unrest — Anarchy in Chicago. The entire period from 1876 to 1896 was one of industrial unrest and agitation. Capital and labor were arrayed against one another as never before in our history, and strikes occurred on a much larger scale now that labor, as well as capital, was better organized. The open warfare between labor and capital broke out with renewed violence in 1886; and from the shipyards of Maine to the railways in Texas and the Far West, great strikes occurred in every branch of industry.

Chicago and St. Louis were the storm centers, and in both cities there was violence and bloodshed. In Chicago, fifty thousand laborers went on strike to enforce their demand for an eight-hour day. A band of anarchists, men opposed to government of any kind, thought this a favorable time to put their theories into practice. These anarchists were for the most part foreigners driven out of Europe, who now planned to attack the government under which they found refuge. They had no connection with the strikers, but hoped to win their support. On May 4, 1886, an anarchist leader addressed a mass meeting of workingmen in Haymarket Square. In the midst of his wild harangue, a battalion of police broke up the meeting and placed him under arrest. A moment later a bomb was hurled into the ranks of the police, killing seven men and wounding sixty others. Of the ringleaders in this outrage, four were hanged after a fair trial, and two were sentenced to prison for life. It was the first time that the cowardly anarchists had tried their methods in America.

The Railway Strike of 1894. The great railway strike of 1894 began when three thousand workmen in the car shops of the Pullman Company demanded better wages. Most of

the men were members of the American Railway Union, an association of railway employees. This powerful organization ordered a sympathetic strike; that is, directed its members not to handle any train on which there were Pullman cars. The strike spread rapidly, and soon nearly every railroad from Chicago to San Francisco was tied up. Serious riots broke out in Chicago, where a large amount of railway property was burned; and President Cleveland finally ordered federal troops into Illinois to prevent further interference with the mails and with interstate commerce. Several officers of the American Railway Union were arrested for disobeying an injunction, or order of the federal court, warning them not to interfere with the railroads. Their arrest, followed by the moving of trains under the protection of regular troops, brought the strike to an end. It had cost the railroads in loss of earnings and destruction of property nearly $6,000,000; the strikers lost $2,000,000 in wages, while the loss to the country at large was estimated at $80,000,000.

Arbitration of Industrial Disputes. Several states have tried to prevent strikes and lockouts by providing for boards of arbitration. These boards usually consist of three or five members appointed by the governor, employers and employees being equally represented. When labor difficulties arise, it is their duty to investigate the situation, and if possible bring about a settlement. They may arbitrate the controversy provided both parties consent, but have no power to compel arbitration or to enforce their award. Congress has also passed an arbitration act for railroads and their employees. The President appoints a board of mediation, which has succeeded in settling several railroad controversies, including the serious strikes threatened in 1913 and again in 1914. Because of the growing importance of labor interests, the Department of Labor was organized as a separate executive department in 1913; and the Secretary of Labor became a member of the President's Cabinet. A division of conciliation in this department has already had considerable success in preventing strikes.

The Socialist Movement. The spirit of unrest in the labor world made many converts to the economic doctrine called socialism. The Socialists believe that land should be owned in common, and that government should own and operate the railroads, telegraph lines, grain elevators, and all large-scale industries. Capitalists are to be eliminated entirely under their scheme of production; for the government is to own and control all the tools and plants of industry, and direct all occupations, the workers being rewarded according to their needs. Several political parties have been organized to carry out these theories. The strongest of these is the Social Democratic or Socialist party, formed in 1898 by Eugene V. Debs and his supporters. The Socialists have won some success in local elections, while in presidential contests their largest vote was in 1912, when their ticket received 901,873 votes.

Organized labor has not generally adopted the principles of socialism. Most American workingmen accept the common-sense idea that industry requires employers as well as employees, capital as well as labor. When the United States entered the World War in 1917, many prominent Socialists left the party because of its disloyal platform adopted at St. Louis. Among these were such leaders as Charles Edward Russell, John Spargo, and Allan L. Benson.

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Courtesy of The Lima Locomotive Works

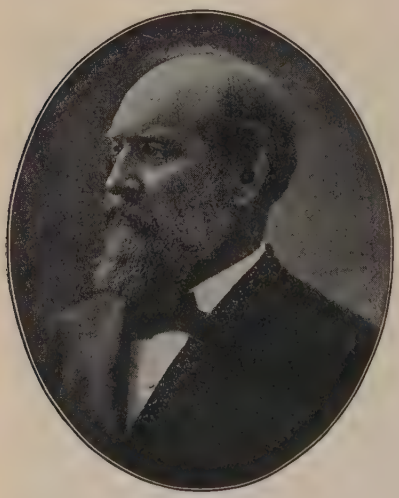
Building Locomotives in a Modern Plant

The manufacture of locomotives and railway cars is one of our most important industries. During the last twenty years the locomotives built have steadily increased in size, power, and weight. This is due to the demand for faster and heavier trains in the passenger service; also for heavier trains in the freight service in order to reduce the cost of hauling. Many of the passenger locomotives now built weigh 140 tons, while freight locomotives weighing over 200 tons are not uncommon.

CHAPTER XLII

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

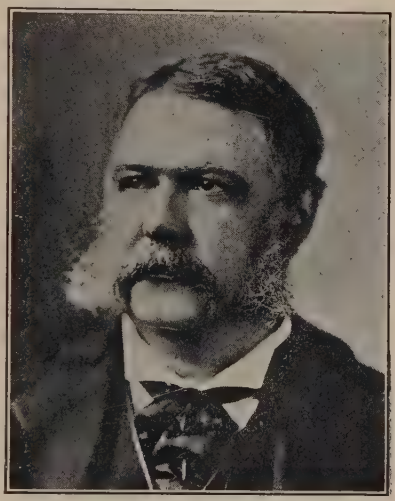
The Election and Assassination of Garfield. The close presidential contest of 1876 convinced the Republicans that only a strong candidate could win the election of 1880. In the Republican convention at Chicago, the friends of ex-President Grant attempted to break the third term tradition by nominating the famous general who had twice led his party to victory. The Grant men failed to secure a majority of the delegates; and after a long contest, the convention named James A. Garfield of Ohio for President, and Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice President. The Democrats chose for their standard-bearer General Winfield S. Hancock, one of the heroes of the Union army at Gettysburg. The Republicans won the election, but only four months after his inauguration, President Garfield was shot by a half-crazed office seeker. He died on September 19, 1881, Vice President Arthur then being sworn in as President.



James A. Garfield

Civil Service Reform. The assassination of President Garfield was indirectly due to a party quarrel over the appointment of a collector of customs for the port of New York; and this

tragedy helped to bring about a much-needed reform in our civil service. Since the time of President Jackson, the political offices within the gift of the government had been looked upon as rewards for faithful party workers. The dismissal of a host of officials at the beginning of each new administration demoralized the public service; for under this Spoils System, party loyalty rather than ability was the basis for appointment to office.



Chester A. Arthur

After a century's experience with the Spoils System, public opinion compelled a change; and in 1883 Congress passed the Civil Service Act. This law provides that appointment to office, as well as tenure and promotion, shall depend upon efficiency rather than upon party service. A Civil Service Commission of three members conducts competitive examinations for all positions in the classified service. Appointments are made from those applicants whose papers are graded highest on the civil service examination; and the persons appointed cannot be removed except for inefficiency.

During the administration of President Arthur, 15,000 federal officers were placed under the new civil service rules. President Cleveland added 55,000 and President Roosevelt 87,000 more. At the present time, about three fourths of the entire number of federal employees are under civil service rules. The merit system of appointment has greatly improved the public service; and a similar plan has been adopted in many cities, and by several state governments.

The Immigration Problem. Since the founding of our government, more than twenty-five million immigrants have

come to the United States, and to-day it is estimated that there are thirteen million persons of foreign birth living here. In the single year of 1905, one million immigrants landed on our shores, or more than all the colonists who came to America from the first landing at Jamestown until the Declaration of Independence. Our traditional policy has always been to welcome the honest men and women of other lands who wish to come here; and our country's wonderful development would have been impossible without the brain and muscle of the millions of immigrants who have turned to America as the land of opportunity.

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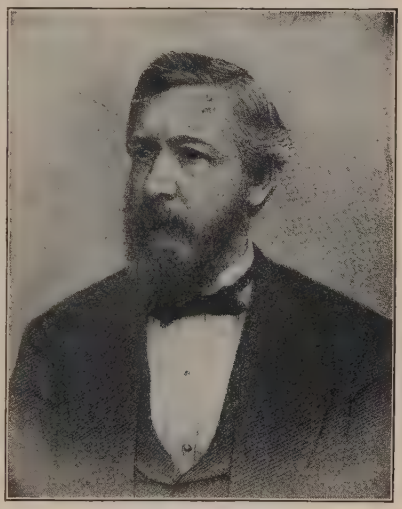
Immigrants Landing at Ellis Island

At times our hospitality has been abused; and European governments have been known to use the United States as a dumping ground for convicts, paupers, anarchists, and other undesirable citizens. Hence in 1882 Congress passed a law excluding from this country the pauper, criminal, and insane classes of aliens, also anarchists, persons suffering from contagious disease, and Chinese laborers. A treaty was made with Japan in 1907, by which Japanese laborers were also excluded.

Immigrants from Southern Europe. Beginning about 1880 there has been a marked change in the source of our immigration. Before that time the great majority of immigrants came from Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries; while only a small proportion came from the peoples of southern and eastern Europe. But since 1880 the immigration from southeastern Europe has greatly increased, while that from northern Europe has relatively declined.

With this change in the source of our immigration, there has been a corresponding change in the character of the immigrants themselves. The immigrants from northern Europe were better educated, more familiar with representative government, and in many cases were skilled artisans and mechanics. In contrast with them, a large proportion of the immigrants from southeastern Europe are illiterate, or unable to read and write their own language; and nearly all are unskilled workers. The demand for the exclusion of illiterate immigrants led Congress on three occasions to pass bills debarring immigrants who could not read, but each time the measure was vetoed by the President. At last in 1916, it was possible to secure the necessary votes in Congress to pass this measure over the President's veto; so that immigrants who are unable to read their own language are now excluded from the United States.



James G. Blaine

Courtesy of the Maine State Library, Augusta.

The Demand for Tariff Reform. Throughout the Civil War, high tariff duties were levied in order to raise revenue, and also to protect American manufacturers who were paying internal revenue taxes on their products. The high tariff rates were continued after the war, the surplus revenue being used to reduce the national debt. The Republican party favored the policy of protection, but many Democrats began to urge a reduction in tariff duties. They pointed out that a large surplus was piling up in the national treasury, and said that the high tariff duties promoted the growth of large corporations by helping them secure a monopoly of the domestic market.

The tariff question became a leading issue in the presidential campaign of 1884. The Democrats maintained that only articles of luxury should be heavily taxed, while articles of necessity ought to be admitted free of duty. Their presidential candidate was Grover Cleveland, who had made a splendid record as governor of New York. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, who had served as Speaker of the House of Representatives, as Senator from Maine, and as Secretary of State under President Garfield. A new reform movement now sprang up in the ranks of the Republicans, much like that in the campaign of 1872. These independent Republicans, who were promptly nicknamed "Mugwumps," refused to support Blaine because they did not approve of his political record. The campaign that followed was one of the most exciting in our history; and for the first time since the Civil War, the Democrats won the victory. But they could not carry out their campaign promise to lower the tariff rates, since the Senate was Republican.

Benjamin Harrison

The tariff question again became the chief issue in the presidential election of 1888, but this time President Cleveland was defeated by his Republican opponent, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. The Republicans also secured control of both houses of Congress, which promptly passed the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890. This law received its name from William McKinley of Ohio, who was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives. The new act was a protective measure which made the duties even higher than during the

war. The Republicans had answered the challenge of the Democrats to reduce the tariff by raising it higher than ever before.

The Wilson Tariff Law, 1894. The growing demand for lower tariff rates carried the Democratic party to a sweeping victory in the presidential contest of 1892, and Grover Cleveland became President for a second term. The House Committee on Ways and Means drew up the Wilson Tariff Bill, which as finally amended in the Senate made only slight reductions in the tariff rates. President Cleveland denounced the measure as "a record of party perfidy and dishonor"; but believing it better than the McKinley Tariff, permitted the bill to become a law without his signature. Since import duties were reduced, it was necessary to provide some other means of raising revenue. Accordingly, the Wilson law levied a tax of two per cent on all incomes above $4000. The Supreme Court held this tax unconstitutional, so that it could not be collected; and without the income tax, the Wilson Act did not yield enough revenue to run the government.

Later Tariff Acts. The success of the Republicans in the presidential election of 1896 led to another revision of tariff rates. Congress passed the Dingley Tariff Law, which restored the duties of the earlier McKinley Act, and in some cases made them even higher. The tariff agitation that had prevailed for fifteen years now began to subside. The new law remained on the statute books for twelve years, during a period of great prosperity. The Republicans passed another high tariff measure in 1909, but after the Democratic victory in 1912, the rates were reduced by the Underwood Tariff Act.

Frequent revision of tariff duties tends to unsettle the business of the country, and it is unfortunate that Congress has insisted on treating the tariff as a political question, instead of as a business matter. A better method was made possible in 1916, when Congress created a Tariff Commission to study this subject and report on needed changes in the rates.

The Presidential Succession Act. In the year 1886, Congress passed an important law known as the Presidential Succession

Act. This provides that in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice President, the office of President shall be filled by the Secretary of State. If that officer does not possess the qualifications required by the Constitution for President, then the succession passes to the Secretary of the Treasury, and so on down through the Cabinet, the first seven members being eligible in the order in which the departments were created. Under the original law passed in 1792, the President *pro tem* of the Senate succeeded the Vice President, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives — a new presidential election to follow within two months. The new law makes it certain that the succession shall pass to a man of the same political party as the President.

The Panic of 1873. About once every twenty years, beginning with 1819, our country has suffered from a money panic or period of severe hard times. Next to the panic of 1837, that of 1873 was the worst in our history. It began with the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, a large banking firm in Philadelphia. The chief cause of the trouble was excessive railroad building, together with wild speculation in western lands. During the four years before 1873, twenty-four thousand miles of railway lines were built. These roads were of immense service in opening up the West; but in many cases their earnings were not large enough to pay interest on the borrowed capital. The banks that had loaned money to the railroads received their bonds in exchange, which they undertook to sell to investors. When the railroads failed to pay the interest on these bonds, the banks that held them began to fail, while thousands of private investors saw their securities shrink in value.

The day after the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, eighteen banking firms in New York City closed their doors. Panic terror then spread throughout the country. Depositors hastened to withdraw their money, banks were unable to make loans to business men, and thousands of failures resulted. Mills and factories were everywhere closing down, workingmen were discharged and wages reduced, while strikes and lockouts added to the general distress. This period of hard times lasted for

five years, during which there were nearly fifty thousand failures, while three million men were out of employment.

Resumption of Specie Payments. During the Civil War, the Union government issued paper money in large quantities. These notes were valueless in themselves, but the government made them legal tender; that is, declared that every one must accept them in payments of debts. There was no gold or silver in the treasury with which to redeem the greenbacks, which depended for their value on the likelihood that the government would some day redeem them in coin, or specie. The war had been at an end for fourteen years before the government was able to do this; but Congress finally voted that after January, 1879, the greenbacks should be redeemed in gold coin. The Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, accumulated a large stock of gold, so that any one desiring to exchange greenbacks for coin might do so. But just as soon as every one became convinced that the government could and would give gold in exchange for notes, nobody cared to have it. Ever since this resumption of specie payments, the greenbacks have been worth one hundred cents on the dollar.

The Greenback Party. When the greenbacks were first issued in 1862, the intention was to redeem them as soon as possible, and withdraw them from circulation. But after part of the greenbacks had been redeemed and canceled, a strong protest was made against this policy. A new political party, the Greenback party, insisted that the notes should not be withdrawn from circulation, but should be reissued. Partly owing to this protest, Congress ordered the reissue of the greenbacks whenever paid into the treasury. So we still have greenbacks in circulation to the amount of $346,000,000, besides several other kinds of paper money. A gold reserve of $150,000,000 is kept on hand in the national treasury for the redemption of the greenbacks.

The Question of Free Silver Coinage. Under the first coinage act passed by Congress in 1792, there was to be free coinage of both gold and silver. In other words, any one might take either metal to the mints and have it coined into money, which would

then be legal tender for all debts. Since gold is much more valuable than silver, the law provided that the silver dollar should contain 371¼ grains of pure silver, or fifteen times the weight of the gold dollar. Later the ratio was changed to 16 to 1. Only a small amount of silver was brought to the mints after 1840; and in 1873 Congress passed a law that discontinued the coinage of the silver dollar, and made gold the sole standard of value.

Grover Cleveland

This act attracted little attention at the time, but in later years, as prices fell sharply, many people demanded that the mints of the country should again be opened to the free coinage of silver. They claimed that the fall in prices was due to the scarcity of money material, and that men who owed money could repay it more easily if both gold and silver were coined at the mints. Free coinage of silver was strongly urged by the new Populist party, which included many farmers who were receiving low prices for their products.

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act. In an effort to please the friends of silver, Congress passed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. This law provided that the government should buy a large amount of silver each month, store it in the treasury vaults, and issue treasury notes equal in amount to the value of the silver purchased. This measure led to a serious financial crisis in 1892, at the beginning of President Cleveland's second administration. The treasury department felt obliged to redeem these notes in gold, and at this critical time, every one seemed to want gold in exchange for notes. Worst of all,

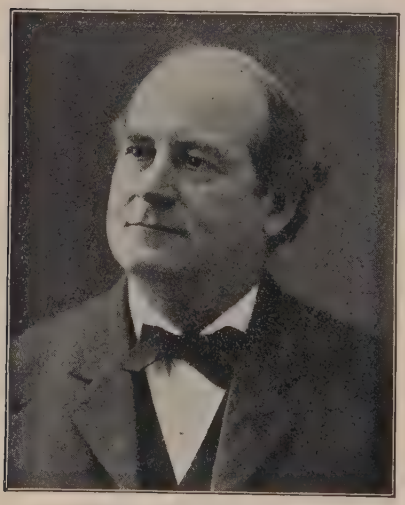
no sooner were the notes redeemed than they must be reissued, to be again presented for more gold. Thus the notes formed an endless chain, constantly draining the treasury of its gold supply. The treasury department had to sell millions of dollars worth of bonds in order to secure a supply of gold with which to redeem the paper notes. Still the gold flowed out of the treasury, until at last President Cleveland called a special session of Congress, and urged the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act. The Senators from the silver-mining states fought bitterly to prevent this, but after three months of stormy debate, Congress repealed the law.

The Panic of 1893. Much of the mischief had already been done, and the panic of 1893 was well under way. Foreign investors began to withdraw their capital, fearing that our country could not pay its obligations in gold. The fall in the price of silver spelled disaster for the western mining interests; while the failure of the corn crop brought ruin to thousands of farmers. Manufacturers and business men could no longer obtain loans, credit collapsed, and failure followed failure. Two hundred railroads went into the hands of receivers, while the number of commercial failures was three times as great as in 1873. In the large cities, thousands of men were out of work and on the verge of starvation.

The Free Silver Campaign of 1896. At the close of President Cleveland's administration, the country was still suffering from the effects of the panic. The Republicans charged that the hard times were due to the Wilson Tariff Law passed by the Democrats. They nominated for President a strong champion of protection, Governor William McKinley of Ohio, and declared in favor of the gold standard. The Democrats argued that the hard times were caused, not by the tariff, but by a scarcity of money. They demanded that government should open its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. This meant that the government was to receive $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver, then worth as bullion or metal only fifty-two cents, and stamp it as one dollar in money. The Republicans pointed out that this would drive gold out of circulation, for people would pay

their debts with the silver dollars, worth only about fifty cents as measured in gold.

The national Democratic convention nominated a young Nebraskan, William Jennings Bryan, who had made an eloquent appeal in the convention for the free coinage of silver. Bryan was a wonderful orator; during the campaign he traveled eighteen thousand miles, and made six hundred speeches. But his party was divided on the money question, for President Cleveland and many eastern Democrats were opposed to free silver coinage. At the polls, the voters endorsed the policy of protection and rejected free silver. William McKinley became President with 271 electoral votes against 176 for Bryan, while the Republicans also secured control of Congress.



William Jennings Bryan

Courtesy of the Baker Art Gallery, Columbus, Ohio.

The Gold Standard Act of 1900. The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 occupied the attention of the country so fully that there was no time for financial legislation during President McKinley's first term. The Republicans reëlected President McKinley in 1900, and Congress passed an act declaring that the gold dollar should be the standard unit of value. That is, gold is to be the standard by which the prices of all commodities are measured. In keeping gold as its sole standard of value, the United States followed the example of the leading nations of the world. Gold has been generally chosen because it is mined in less quantities than silver, and because its value does not fluctuate so greatly. Hence if prices are based on gold, they will vary less than if based on silver. The country

has really been on a single gold standard since 1873, so that the new law did not introduce a change. It was only a definite announcement that the gold standard would be continued, and that there would be no free coinage of silver.

The Federal Reserve Act of 1913. The country passed through another severe financial crisis in 1907, and Congress began to study how to prevent such difficulties in the future. During President Wilson's first administration, an important law was passed which may accomplish this result. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 provides for a system of Federal Reserve Banks which do not receive deposit from individuals, but from the different banks of the country. When money is scarce, the reserve banks may issue notes to the banks that belong to the system, in exchange for securities held by them; and the individual banks can then loan these notes out to borrowers. The national government also deposits much of its surplus money with the reserve banks, instead of placing it in the government vaults; and part of this money can be loaned to banks throughout the country on good security. In this way more money can be made available during hard times, and it is hoped that the plan will put an end to our money panics.

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2. **Immigration.** Coolidge, A. C., *The United States as a World Power*, ch. II ; Guitteau, W. B., *Government and Politics in the United States*, pp. 390–392 ; Hall, F. F., *Immigration*, pp. 3–13, 36–79, chs. X–XIV ; Hart, A. B., *National Ideals Historically Traced* (American Nation Series), ch. III ; Latané, J. H., *America as a World Power* (American Nation Series), ch. XVII.

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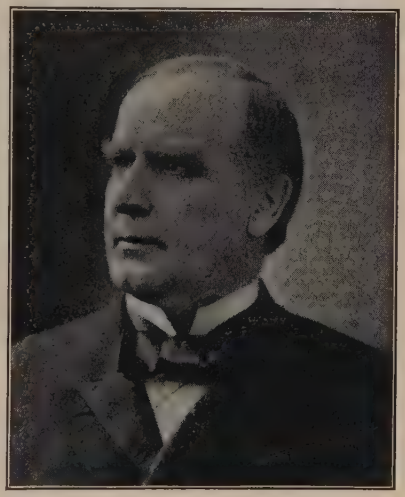
Open Hearth Furnaces of the National Tube Company

Impurities in the iron ore are removed by the process of smelting in furnaces constructed of steel and infusible brick. The iron ore together with coke and limestone is placed in the furnace, and as the coke burns by means of a forced draft, the iron ore melts. The iron is heavy, but the impurities are light and float as slag on top of the liquid iron. The iron is then drawn off into bars called pig iron.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

Spain's Colonial Policy. In the sixteenth century, Spain was England's chief rival in the struggle for colonial empire and for the world's trade. Spain was not liberal in the treatment of her colonies, and she failed to profit by the experience of her rival. After the American Revolution, Great Britain adopted a different policy toward her remaining colonies. She granted them large powers of self-government, and no longer tried to use them merely as storehouses for British merchants and manufacturers. In 1867 all of the Canadian provinces except Newfoundland were organized into a federal union, the Dominion of Canada, with a Parliament and ministry similar to that of Great Britain, and a governor-general appointed by the crown. The Commonwealth of Australia was organized on a similar plan in 1901. But history taught Spain no lesson. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, she still ruled her colonies by the methods of three hundred years before. One by one, the Spanish colonies in Central and South America declared their independence, until only Cuba and Porto Rico remained out of all Spain's New World empire.



William McKinley

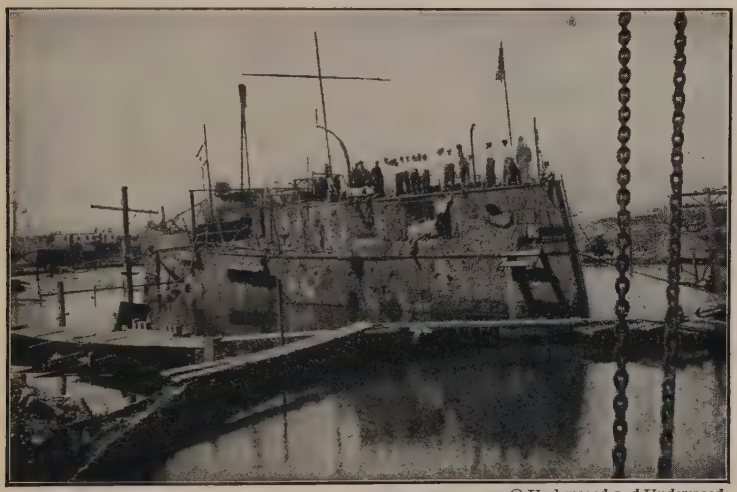
Courtesy of the Courtney Studio, Canton, Ohio.

Spain ruled these islands with the same harsh tyranny that had lost her great empire. Laws for Cuba were made in Madrid; they were executed by a governor-general and other Spanish officials, who lived in Cuba only to make their own fortunes as quickly as possible. The revenue from Cuba in 1895 was twenty-six million dollars, but of this sum only one million was spent for education and public works on the island. The remainder went to support Spain's army and navy, to pay the interest on her debt, and to meet the salaries of Spanish officials.

Cuba Rebels against Spain. The Cubans rose in repeated revolts against Spanish oppression; but each revolt ended in defeat and worse misrule. It took Spain ten years to put down the rebellion of 1868, and at its close she promised reforms that were never carried out. The Cubans again took up arms in 1895, and this time one hundred thousand Spanish soldiers could not crush the outbreak. The Spanish government then determined to starve the Cubans into submission. General Weyler ordered the rural inhabitants to come into the garrison towns, where they were shut up in concentration camps. With no one left to cultivate the plantations, the Cuban army must surrender or starve. Nearly two hundred thousand Cubans died in concentration camps from starvation and disease, but still the fight for liberty went on.

Our Country's Interest in Cuba. The United States urged Spain to grant the reforms demanded by the Cubans, but Spain replied that Cuba already enjoyed "one of the most liberal political systems in the world." As a result of the rebellion our trade with Cuba, amounting to $100,000,000 each year, was destroyed, while American citizens on the island lost much of their property. Once more President McKinley tried to induce Spain to make concessions, but she delayed until at last the Cubans would accept nothing less than complete independence. By the year 1898, the "Pearl of the Antilles" had become a place of misery and starvation. At last the United States resolved in the interests of humanity to make the cause of Cuba her own.

The Destruction of the *Maine*. An event occurred at this critical time which hastened the conflict. Early in 1898 the battleship *Maine* entered Havana Harbor to protect American interests. Three weeks later, while lying peacefully at anchor, a terrible explosion sank the ship with two hundred and sixty of her men. Investigation of the wreck showed that the explosion was probably caused by a submarine mine.



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The *Maine*, March 16, 1912

A commission was appointed several years after the war with Spain to raise the *Maine* and discover how it was sunk. A cofferdam was built around the warship, the hull made water-tight, and then floated. It was afterwards towed out to sea and buried with full naval honors.

It was impossible to prove who had committed the foul deed, but the American people believed that the Spaniards were responsible. "Remember the *Maine*" became the watchword of the hour, and the whole country demanded war. Congress promptly voted to expend fifty million dollars for national defense.

Our Ultimatum and the Declaration of War. On April 19, the anniversary of Lexington, Congress passed a resolution declaring that Cuba ought to be free, and that Spain must

withdraw her forces from the island. The President was authorized to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States to bring this about. Congress also declared that the United States did not intend to annex Cuba, but would leave the government of the island to its people. Spain was given five days in which to answer these resolutions, which were virtually an ultimatum. Her reply was to recall the Spanish minister from Washington, and to give our minister at Madrid his passports. On April 25, Congress voted that war existed between the United States and Spain. It was decided to borrow $200,000,000 by issuing bonds, also to raise revenue by means of a stamp tax, as had been done in the Civil War. The navy was increased, and the Atlantic coast defenses were strengthened.

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Admiral George Dewey on the deck of the *Olympia*

Dewey's Victory at Manila Bay. The first fighting occurred far from our own shores. When war was declared, our Pacific fleet was at Hong Kong, China, under the command of Commodore George Dewey. Orders were cabled to Dewey to proceed to the Philippine Islands, and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet. Before daylight on May 1, 1898, Dewey's six warships, with the *Olympia* in the lead, sailed into Manila Bay.

The Spanish fleet was inferior to his squadron, but it had the aid of the shore batteries. The battle began at five o'clock in the morning, and by noon Dewey had won a complete victory. The enemy's fleet was destroyed, and six hundred Spanish sailors were killed or wounded. Our ships were practically unharmed, and only eight men were wounded. Some three months later, transports carrying American troops arrived on the scene, and the city of Manila was occupied.

Attitude of Germany and Great Britain. While he awaited the arrival of American soldiers, Dewey's position was difficult because of the warships which the European powers sent to Manila Bay. All the European nations except Great Britain were in sympathy with Spain, but Germany was the only one guilty of any breach of neutrality. Although her interests in the Philippines were slight, Germany sent five warships to Manila Bay; and the German admiral repeatedly disregarded Dewey's rules for the blockade of the harbor. On one occasion he even landed a boat-load of provisions for the Spanish forces in the city, a breach of neutrality almost equivalent to an act of war. Finally, Dewey sent word to Admiral von Diederichs that the next German vessel which violated the blockade would be fired upon. "And tell him," added Dewey, "that if he wants a fight, he can have it right now." Whether the German admiral's conduct was the result of his own ideas, or whether he acted under orders, has never been ascertained. It is known, however, that Great Britain's three warships in Manila Bay were under sealed orders which were disclosed to only two persons, the British Admiral Chichester and Dewey himself. There are good grounds for believing that in the event of a conflict with the German warships, Dewey would have had the support of the British fleet.

Our Campaign in Cuba. While these stirring events were taking place across the Pacific, our navy and newly recruited army prepared for a campaign against Spain's forces in Cuba. Admiral Cervera's fleet had sailed from the Cape Verde Islands for an unknown destination. Did the Spanish admiral intend to bombard the cities on our Atlantic coast? Or would he

try to capture the *Oregon,* which was coming around Cape Horn from San Francisco to reinforce the Atlantic fleet? To be ready for a sudden attack, Commodore Schley was placed in command of a flying squadron of swift cruisers; while Admiral Sampson was given the task of blockading the coast of Cuba, so as to cut off reinforcements and supplies.

Admiral Cervera managed to evade our warships; his fleet found a haven in Santiago Harbor, whereupon Sampson and Schley united their fleets for a blockade. By sinking the collier *Merrimac* across the harbor's mouth, Lieutenant Richmond Hobson tried to bottle up the Spanish fleet so as to make escape impossible. The *Merrimac* did not sink at the right moment, so the daring plan failed. Meantime, our army prepared for a campaign in Cuba. General Shafter with 16,000 men landed near Santiago, and pushed forward against the city. Our troops won brilliant victories at San Juan Hill and El Caney, positions that defended Santiago. A few days later Santiago itself surrendered, and with it the entire Spanish army in eastern Cuba.

Destruction of Cervera's Fleet. While the American troops were closing in on Santiago, Admiral Cervera determined to make a dash for liberty. On the morning of July 3 his six warships were discovered slowly steaming down the narrow channel of the harbor. The American ships at once closed in, directing their fire against Cervera's flagship, which led the line. In vain the Spanish cruisers tried to escape into the open sea. Our battleships formed a parallel line abreast of the enemy, pouring on them a deadly fire of shells. Within four hours, every Spanish ship was sunk, and Admiral Cervera with seventeen hundred men were prisoners. We lost only one man, and not a single ship.

The victory of Santiago ended the war in Cuba. An expedition under General Nelson A. Miles was then sent against Porto Rico. Town after town was easily captured, when suddenly the march to victory was interrupted. Realizing her complete defeat, Spain decided to ask for peace.

The Treaty of Paris. Commissioners from the United States and Spain met in Paris to draw up a treaty of peace, which was

signed on December 10, 1898. Spain gave up all authority over Cuba, which became an independent republic. She ceded Porto Rico to the United States, together with the island of Guam (in the Ladrones), and the entire Philippine archipelago. In return, the United States agreed to pay Spain twenty million dollars.

Results of the War. The Spanish-American War had several important results:

(1) It united the North and the South as never before. Men who had worn the gray fought side by side with the men of the North, and the new friendships effaced the last traces of hostility between the two sections.

(2) The war was a convincing proof of our utter lack of military preparedness.

(3) It gave Cuba her independence.

(4) The United States secured important colonies, the Philippines, and Porto Rico.

(5) These new possessions, with our growing trade and wider interests, soon made the United States a world power.

Our Country Not Prepared for War. The war proved that the United States was not prepared to fight against a strong foe, and it was fortunate that our enemy was one of the weakest nations in Europe. Our officers were not used to handling large bodies of troops; many of our soldiers were still armed with Springfield rifles of the Civil War pattern; we had only a small supply of smokeless powder; and there was a great lack of uniforms, tents, ambulances, and military equipment of every kind. Victory was won, not by an efficient military organization, for this we did not have, but by virtue of the bravery of our volunteers and handful of regulars. Our navy, too, did splendid work, and proved to be better prepared for service than the army.

Soon after the treaty of peace, our war department was reorganized on a better basis. But the beginning of the conflict with Germany in 1917 found our country almost as unprepared for war as in 1898. Our nation has clung to the ideal of peace, placing its trust in arbitration, while other countries have been

creating large armies and navies. The lesson of the Spanish-American War, like that of the War of 1812, was ignored by our people. That lesson is, that to be well prepared for defense is the best means of safeguarding our rights as a nation.

Old Central School, San Carlos
The type of school under the Spanish government.

New Intermediate School, Camiling, Tarlac Province
The latest developments in American school architecture are now applied to Philippine conditions. Photographs from the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

Cuba Becomes an Independent Republic. As soon as the Spanish forces were withdrawn from Cuba, our army engineers took up the work of creating sanitary conditions throughout the island, especially in the cities. Here, as later on the Isthmus of Panama, yellow fever was conquered by warfare against the mosquito. Industry was fostered, a modern system of education established, and every effort made to prepare the Cuban people for their task of self-government. This work accomplished, our troops were withdrawn in 1902, and the government was turned over to the Cubans.

The United States reserved the right to intervene in order to preserve Cuba's independence, to restore order, or to compel the payment of debts to foreign creditors. An insurrection in 1906 made it necessary for us to send troops to the island.

President Roosevelt appointed a military governor, order was soon restored, and after three years our forces were again withdrawn. Since then peace has ruled in Cuba, and her people have apparently learned the lesson of self-government.

Our Government of the Philippines. The inhabitants of the Philippines, like the Cubans, had taken up arms against Spanish tyranny. They wanted independence, and at first refused to recognize our authority over the islands. Under a native chief, Aguinaldo, the Filipinos waged a guerrilla warfare for nearly two years, but the capture of their leader ended the insurrection.

The vast Philippine archipelago is peopled by numerous tribes, many of which are but slightly civilized. Self-government was out of the question when Spain surrendered the islands, but the United States is educating the people so that they may become prepared to govern themselves. Meantime, executive authority is vested in a governor and other officers appointed by the President, while the Filipinos elect their own legislature. Our country has spent large sums for schools, libraries, sanitation, and public works on the islands, and much progress has been made. Independence has been promised to the Philippines as soon as their people show a capacity for self-government.

Annexation of Porto Rico and Hawaii. Porto Rico is a permanent possession of the United States. It is governed by executive officers appointed by the President, most of whom must be native Porto Ricans. The voters choose the legislature, and the island is represented in Congress by a commissioner. Hawaii was also annexed in 1898 at the request of its people, and given our usual form of territorial government. The President appoints the governor, while the voters elect the legislature.

The United States Becomes a World Power. The most important result of the war with Spain was to make the United States a world power, with possessions and interests that are world wide. Whether for good or for ill, the happy isolation of Washington's day became a thing of the past. Many of our citizens regretted this situation. In the Senate, the peace treaty with Spain was ratified by only one vote more than the necessary

two thirds. Even some of the Senators who voted for the treaty were opposed to our holding the Philippines. They believed that the Republic ought not attempt to govern distant islands, that " imperialism " is a menace to our national welfare. But the United States could not honorably deliver the islands back to Spanish tyranny, and their people were not capable of self-government. So the trend of events, rather than our own choice, compelled us to take up what Rudyard Kipling calls the " white man's burden." With Hawaii as an outpost, with the Philippines in our possession, and a growing trade with Asia, we began to take more interest in the affairs of the Far East. This was soon shown by our part in putting down the insurrection in China.

The Chinese Boxer Rebellion, 1900. China is the oldest and, from a military point of view, the weakest nation in the world. Taking advantage of her inability to resist aggression, European nations began to occupy the richest portions of her territory. At the close of the Spanish-American War, the partition of China seemed near at hand. With no army or navy worthy of the name, the Chinese government was powerless to resist; but at last a secret society known as " Boxers " took up arms to exterminate the hated foreigner. Aided by native troops, the Boxers attacked the foreign missions, killed the German minister, and besieged the residences of the foreign ambassadors in Peking. At this crisis, an army made up of American, European, and Japanese soldiers was sent to rescue the ambassadors. When the allied forces reached Peking, the revolt promptly collapsed.

How should China be punished for the Boxer outrages? Our Secretary of State, John Hay, finally persuaded the European nations not to demand more Chinese territory as an indemnity. The United States did not wish to see China divided up among the powers of Europe. Our country favored the " open-door " policy; that is, a policy which would permit all nations to trade with China on equal terms. Instead of giving up more territory, China was forced to pay an indemnity of $333,000,000 to the nations whose subjects had been robbed and killed. Our

share of the indemnity was about $24,000,000, but a few years later the United States returned one half of this sum, keeping only enough to cover the actual losses suffered by American citizens. China showed her appreciation of this act of good will by placing the money returned in a special indemnity fund, to be used for the education of Chinese students in American colleges and universities.

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CHAPTER XLIV

OUR OWN TIMES AND ITS PROBLEMS

President McKinley's Reëlection and Assassination. The question of retaining the Philippines became one of the chief issues in the presidential election of 1900. The Republicans renominated President McKinley, who had a record of faithful service during his first term, and for Vice President named Theodore Roosevelt of New York. The Democrats again nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, on a platform which denounced colonial expansion or imperialism. The election resulted in a Republican victory, and President McKinley was inaugurated for his second term on March 4, 1901.

While attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo about six months later, the President was shot by an anarchist, dying on September 14. Vice President Roosevelt then became President, and his administration was so successful that he was reëlected in 1904 by the largest popular majority ever given to any President. President Roosevelt was a man of boundless energy, as well as of very high ability. As police commissioner of New York City, as assistant secretary of the navy, and as governor of New York, he had become famous for his ability to get things done; and this same trait was shown during the seven years of his presidency.

An Inter-Oceanic Canal. From the time of Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean, men had dreamed of a canal across the narrow neck of land which connects North and South America. Spain, England, and France each in turn became interested in an Isthmian Canal, but it remained for the United States to transform the dream into a reality. The long voyage of the *Oregon* during the Spanish-American War proved the military importance of an inter-oceanic canal; and every one

could see that our expanding trade would be greatly aided by a water route across the Isthmus.

Before beginning the work of construction, the United States had to overcome many obstacles. First we had to secure Great Britain's consent to set aside the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. This was an agreement that neither the United States nor Great Britain should have exclusive control of any canal built across the Isthmus. Great Britain finally consented to a new treaty, giving the United States the sole right to construct and operate the canal; while in return, our country guaranteed that it should be open to the vessels of all nations on equal terms. A long discussion followed as to the best route, Nicaragua or Panama. A commission appointed by President Roosevelt finally recommended in favor of Panama, provided the United States could purchase the rights and property of the French Panama Company. This company, organized by the French engineer, De Lesseps, had undertaken to build a canal across the Isthmus, but gave up the work before it was half completed. The United States bought out the rights of the French Company for $40,000,000, then attempted to persuade Colombia to grant

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Theodore Roosevelt

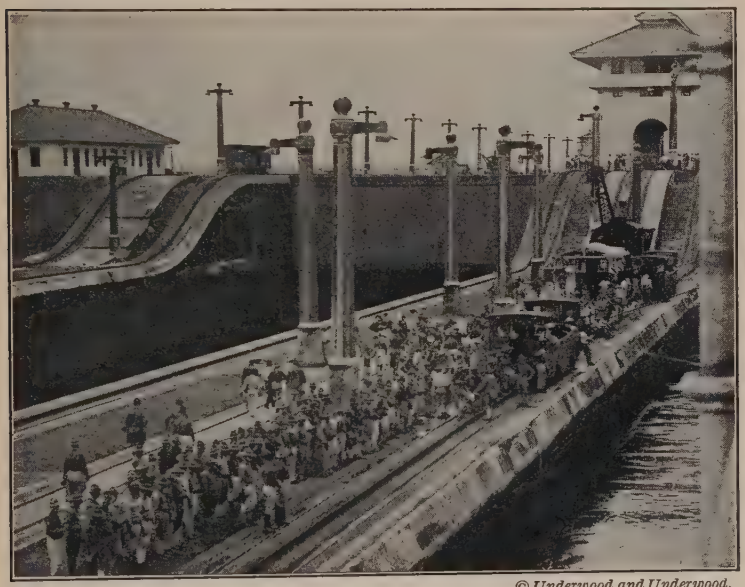
"In order to succeed," said Roosevelt in 1912, "we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted great visions, who dream greatly and strive to make their dreams come true; who can kindle the people with the fire from their own burning souls. The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won."

a right of way across the Isthmus. Our liberal offer for the narrow strip of land needed was a cash payment of $10,000,000, together with an annual subsidy of $250,000; but Colombia withheld her consent, thinking that the United States could be forced to pay a much larger sum. About this time the province of Panama seceded from Colombia, and its independence was promptly recognized by President Roosevelt. Panama accepted the compensation that Colombia had refused, and ceded a strip of land ten miles in width, extending across the Isthmus from Colon on the Atlantic coast to Panama on the Pacific, a distance of about fifty miles. Colombia was greatly displeased over this outcome, but in 1921 the difficulty was settled by treaty. Colombia was given $25,000,000 as compensation, besides special privileges in the use of the canal.

Building the Panama Canal. Before the work was begun, our army engineers established sanitary conditions throughout the canal zone, where mosquitoes and yellow fever had long held sway. Construction began in earnest in 1904, under the direction of Colonel George W. Goethals of the United States Army; and the completed canal was ready for use in 1914, having cost our government $375,000,000. The Panama Canal, unlike that at Suez, is of the lock type. For nearly three fifths of its length it runs through the valley of the Chagres River. This has been converted into a lake twenty-two miles long by means of the immense Gatun Dam, ninety feet high and a mile and a half long. This lake is about eighty-five feet above the sea level, so that three pairs of locks were built at Gatun, each with a lift of about twenty-nine feet. Vessels pass through the canal in from ten to twelve hours, whereas the voyage around Cape Horn required from thirty to forty-five days.

The canal has increased the efficiency of our navy by making it possible for the Atlantic fleet to reach the Pacific coast promptly, or for the Pacific fleet to come to the defense of the Atlantic seaboard. Commercially, the canal is of great importance. It reduces the distance from New York to San Francisco by eight thousand miles; while from New York to Japan and Australia it cuts off four thousand miles.

Public Improvements at National Expense. Soon after the completion of the Panama Canal, our government began the construction of a trunk line railroad in Alaska, in order to open up the vast resources of that country. Nearly all of the countries of Europe own and operate their railways, but the Alaskan line is the only government-owned railroad in the United States.



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A Lock in the Panama Canal

An electric engine on the track at the side is towing a transport filled with New Zealand troops homeward-bound after the World War. The American soldiers on the canal bank are giving the "Anzacs" a rousing welcome.

The Panama Canal and the Alaskan Railroad show the change that has occurred in the policy of the national government concerning public improvements. In our earlier history, the states undertook to build the turnpikes and canals necessary to improve transportation, for most people thought that the federal government had no right to spend money for this purpose. But soon the states were glad to receive grants of public lands to aid them in this work; while at a later date, the national government

promoted railroad building by giving the companies immense tracts of western lands. To-day the federal government spends millions of dollars each year for internal improvements, and no one questions its right to do so. Extensive river and harbor improvements are carried on, such as the construction of breakwaters and piers at Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Milwaukee; and vast sums are expended annually for the deepening of harbors, principally by dredging.

Conservation of Natural Resources. President Roosevelt performed a splendid service by calling attention to the need of greater care and economy in the use of our natural resources. No country is so richly endowed as the United States in fertility of soil, in wealth of forests, and in mineral products, waterways, and water power. Unfortunately, many of our people have acted as if the wonderful storehouse provided by nature could never become exhausted. Our great forest areas have been stripped of trees by owners who cared only to make money as fast as possible. Young trees that should have been spared were taken for telegraph poles or railroad ties, and no effort was made to replace them by planting. Terrible forest fires in the Northwest swept away millions of dollars' worth of valuable timber, adding to the work of destruction.

The Establishment of Forest Reserves. At last men began to realize that the destruction of our forests meant even more than the loss of our timber supply. The productiveness of our farms was seriously threatened, for forests protect the headwaters of the large rivers, thus securing a uniform flow throughout the year and providing water for irrigation. President Roosevelt in 1908 invited the governors of all the states and territories to meet at Washington to discuss the question of conserving our natural resources. This was the first of the annual meetings of what is now called the "House of Governors." At this conference it was agreed that each governor should recommend to his own state the measures that would help conserve its resources in forests, lands, water, and minerals.

As a further step toward conservation, the national government has set aside a vast area of one hundred thousand square

miles, known as forest reserves. These reserves, in extent as large as the states of Wisconsin and Illinois taken together, are held in trust by the national government for the welfare of the entire country. The reserves are so located as to protect the headwaters of our large rivers; they are guarded by men who ride through the forests on horseback, watching for fire and for timber thieves. A large amount of lumber is sold each year;

The Roosevelt Dam, Salt River, Arizona

The government built the dam to irrigate 200,000 acres, and charged off the cost of $10,000,000 against the land so benefited.

but government officials decide what timber may be cut, and new trees are planted in place of those cut down. Many of the states have also set aside forest reserves, which are managed in the same way as the national reserves.

Irrigation Work of the National Government. Irrigation is another important aid to agriculture, especially in the arid lands of the West and Southwest. By constructing immense dams and reservoirs in this region, the national government has transformed millions of acres of desert lands into fertile farms.

These lands are sold to settlers upon small annual payments, which will ultimately cover the cost of the irrigation works. Within the last twenty years, the amount of land irrigated in the United States has been increased from three million to more than thirteen million acres. These irrigation projects have cost large sums, but the cost is small in comparison with the values created by changing desert wastes into fertile farms.

The Discovery of Gold in Alaska. In the year 1896, rich deposits of gold were discovered near Klondike Creek in the remote Canadian territory of Yukon, a region almost within the Arctic circle. Still larger deposits were soon discovered in the Nome district of Alaska, and the rush to the new gold fields was like that to California in 1849. During the six years that followed the discovery, Alaska yielded $132,500,000 in gold; and the treasure seekers learned that the territory held immense coal deposits, besides a great quantity of valuable timber and a vast area suitable for agriculture. The population of Alaska increased rapidly, and the question of the correct boundary between Canada and Alaska became more important than ever. In the year 1909, a great exposition was held at Seattle to show the progress of Alaska and Washington. One of the striking features of the exposition was a monument eighty feet high, covered with gold from the Yukon district.

Arbitration of the Great Coal Strike. In 1902, a strike of one hundred and forty-five thousand anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania threatened the welfare of the entire country. The miners demanded better pay, shorter hours, and recognition of their union. The attempt of the operators to work the mines with non-union men led to riots and the calling out of the state militia; and the strike, which began in May, was still in progress as winter drew near. Meantime, the price of coal increased rapidly as the supply dwindled; many factories had to close down, and people were beginning to suffer from lack of fuel. President Roosevelt determined to interfere in order to prevent a coal famine. He called to Washington representatives of the miners and operators, and urged them to arbitrate their differences; otherwise, the federal government might be forced to

take steps to operate the mines. The strikers and their employers finally agreed that the questions at issue should be settled by a commission appointed by the President. The miners went back to work, and during the winter the commission decided in favor of most of their demands.

International Arbitration. In foreign affairs, a great event occurred in 1899 when the czar of Russia invited the nations of the world to send representatives to a peace conference at The Hague, Holland. Twenty-nine countries were represented, including the United States and the leading countries of Europe and South America. It was decided to establish a permanent court of arbitration at The Hague; and rules were adopted which, it was hoped, would make warfare less inhuman. Declarations were signed by some of the leading powers against the throwing of bombs from balloons, against the use of projectiles filled with poison gases, and against the use of dumdum bullets.

The United States had always favored arbitration as a means of settling disputes with other nations; and since Washington's time, our country had concluded fifty-seven arbitration treaties. So it was not surprising that the United States and Mexico were the first nations to submit a case to The Hague Court for decision. A few years later, the United States and Great Britain asked this tribunal to decide the century-old dispute concerning our fishery rights off the coast of Newfoundland. Our claim was that the treaty of 1783 gave American fishermen the right to ply their calling in Newfoundland waters; whereas Great Britain insisted that these rights were annulled by the War of 1812. The Hague Court decided that while Great Britain had the right to make reasonable rules concerning her fisheries, she could not prohibit our citizens from fishing on the Banks, or forbid them to land at Newfoundland ports in order to buy bait and supplies.

Another important arbitration occurred in 1903, when the United States and Great Britain appointed a special commission to decide the dispute over the boundary between Alaska and the Dominion of Canada. Each nation appointed three members of this tribunal, which decided in favor of the United States. This favorable award was the result of the impartiality of

England's Chief Justice, Lord Alverstone, who voted in favor of our claim. Great Britain accepted the award in spite of Canada's vigorous protest.

Claims against Venezuela. Many of the countries of South America have borrowed large sums of money from people living in Europe; and in some cases, the failure to pay these debts when due has led to serious difficulties. For example, the subjects of Germany loaned $20,000,000 for the construction of a railroad in Venezuela, in return for which the Venezuelan government guaranteed dividends of seven per cent. These dividends were not paid; and at the same time, British and Italian creditors were unable to secure payment of their claims. So in 1902, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy resorted to a blockade of Venezuelan ports as a means of collecting the debts due to their subjects. The situation was much like that of forty years before, when three European governments took action against Mexico.

Our government was placed in a difficult position. The Monroe Doctrine forbade any attempt by foreign powers to interfere with the republics of South America, or to annex their territory; but it did not protect them from the consequences of refusing to pay their just debts. As President Roosevelt said: "We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power." At the same time, we could not approve this coercion; for the seizure of Venezuela's ports and customhouses might easily lead to a permanent occupation of her territory, just as in the case of Mexico. Finally, the United States persuaded the three European countries to accept Venezuela's promise to set aside part of her customs revenue each year for the benefit of her creditors, and to submit the claims themselves to arbitration. It was decided that Venezuela owed $8,000,000 instead of the $40,000,000 claimed by her creditors, and they were paid accordingly.

Santo Domingo Becomes Bankrupt. The little republic of Santo Domingo was the next country to get into financial

difficulties. As a result of frequent revolution and systematic plundering of the public treasury, the government found itself bankrupt, with a debt of $32,000,000. Two thirds of this amount was due to European creditors, and their governments notified the United States that unless we took charge of the Dominican customhouses, they would be compelled to do so. So President Roosevelt, acting with the consent of the government of the island, appointed a receiver of Dominican customs, who carries on his duties under the protection of a United States gunboat. This arrangement is still in force, and has proven satisfactory both to Santo Domingo and to her creditors. A similar plan is in force for the control of the finances of Haiti.

President Roosevelt as Peacemaker. In the summer of 1905, the eyes of the world were turned toward the Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In the Far East, Russia and Japan had been waging a bloody war for nearly eighteen months over their respective claims in Korea and Manchuria; but although defeated, Russia was not ready to yield. President Roosevelt finally offered the friendly services of the United States in arranging a meeting for the discussion of peace terms. Russia and Japan replied by sending representatives to Portsmouth, where a treaty of peace was signed.

Our Relations with Japan. Japan's growing power in the Far East, together with her frank ambition to dominate China, has made her a strong commercial rival of the United States in the Pacific Ocean. Her claim to a paramount interest in China was formally recognized by the United States in 1917; and the Paris Conference gave her special privileges in Shantung Province. However, Japan has accepted our principle of "the open door," or equal trade rights in Chinese territory for all nations.

Japanese immigration to this country has led to some friction, chiefly because of the attitude of California and the Far West toward the Japanese. A serious difficulty arose in 1906 when the Board of Education of San Francisco passed a resolution requiring Japanese and Chinese children to attend separate schools, instead of being educated with the white children of that city. Japan protested against this action as a violation

of her treaty rights with the United States, and as an affront to her as a nation. President Roosevelt persuaded the California authorities to compromise the matter; but in 1913, California brought on a new crisis by passing a law which forbade the Japanese to own land for agricultural purposes. Japan made a strong protest against this measure, which was passed against the wishes of the administration at Washington. Her protest still stands, and the difficulty has not yet been adjusted. California's action was the result of her natural opposition to Japanese or Chinese immigration. Japan herself does not wish her subjects to come to the United States in large numbers; and she has made an informal agreement with our government not to issue passports to Japanese laborers who wish to come here.

The Australian Ballot. The quarter century between the years 1888 and 1913 was marked by many efforts to make our government more democratic. The first step in this direction was the adoption of the Australian ballot. Before the year 1888, the ballots used at elections were usually provided by the candidates themselves, or by their party organizations. These ballots were of various sizes and colors, so that it was easy for party workers, standing near the ballot box, to see how each man voted. This prevented independent voting, for men who did not vote as their employers wished might be discharged. It also encouraged dishonest voting. Corrupt men bought votes for a few dollars each, and made sure of their purchase by watching the voter place his ballot in the box.

An important reform came between the years 1888 and 1895, when nearly all the states adopted the Australian ballot, so-called because it was first used in that country. Under this plan, the names of all the candidates are printed on a single official ballot which the voter receives from an election official when he enters the voting place. Sometimes the names of the candidates are printed in parallel columns, underneath the party name and emblem. In other states, the names of the candidates are arranged in alphabetical order under the title of the office, followed by the name of the political party. The voter marks the ballot in secret, in a booth provided for that purpose. He

then folds the ballot with the names hidden and deposits it in the ballot box, so that no one except himself knows for whom his vote is cast.

Both the states and the national government have passed laws to prohibit corrupt practices in elections. These acts require candidates for office to file sworn statements of the amounts expended by them or in their behalf for election purposes; and severe penalties are provided against bribery or intimidation of voters. These measures, together with the Australian ballot, have done much to secure the free and honest elections without which democratic government is only an empty form.

The Direct Primary System. Within recent years, the people all over the country have demanded that government should be brought more directly under popular control. As a result, many states have abolished the convention method of nominating candidates in favor of the direct primary system. Under this plan, candidates for political office are nominated by a direct vote of the members of their party. The names of persons who wish to be nominated are placed on the ballot, and on a certain day an election is held. This is similar to a regular election except that the voters declare to which party they belong, and vote only for the candidates of that party. Those persons are nominated who receive the largest number of votes cast by the party members. This plan aims to do away with the abuses of the convention system and machine control, and to make the party more directly responsible to its members. At first used only for local offices, direct primaries have grown in favor, until now, in addition to local candidates, state officers and United States Senators are often nominated in this way.

Direct Legislation. In many states, the trend toward democracy was shown by the adoption of constitutional amendments which permit the people themselves to vote directly on laws, instead of depending solely upon their legislatures. This direct legislation, as it is called, is accomplished either through the referendum or the initiative. The referendum is the sub-

mission to voters of a measure passed by the state legislature, or by the council of a city or village. If the voters approve the measure it becomes a law, otherwise it is of no effect. The referendum is often employed in the case of a proposed bond issue; or to determine whether liquor shall be sold in a certain locality; or whether a franchise or privilege shall be granted by the city government to a street railway or other public service corporation. It is of especial value in local affairs, where the issue is simple and easily understood by the voters. On the other hand, if numerous measures are submitted at any one election, the voters are likely to give them slight consideration.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

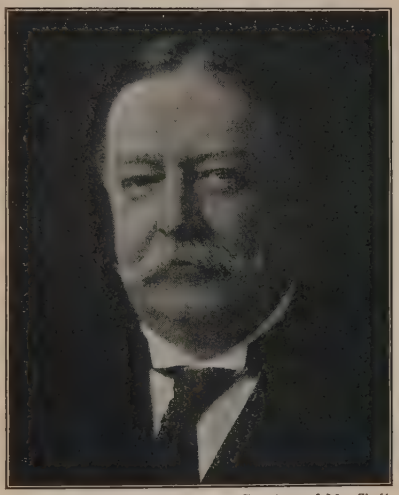
Photograph by courtesy of the Massachusetts' Woman Suffrage Association.

One of the foremost leaders in the long struggle to secure equal suffrage for all citizens.

Another form of direct legislation is the initiative, which empowers a certain percentage of the voters to propose laws. For example, the constitution of Oregon provides that eight per cent of the voters may propose a measure, which must afterwards be submitted to the voters at an election. If approved by them, it becomes a law just as if passed by the legislature.

Woman's Suffrage. The granting of the ballot to women is another sign of the recent movement to make our government more democratic. Like the initiative, the referendum, and the direct primary, this movement had its origin in the West. Wyoming gave women the right to vote when it was organized as a territory in 1869; Colorado, Idaho, and Utah took the same step between 1890 and 1893. During the years 1910 to 1917, woman's suffrage was adopted by nine other states, namely:

Arizona, California, Illinois, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oregon, and Washington. Finally, the suffrage leaders turned their attention to Congress, and demanded that the national constitution be amended, giving woman the right to vote throughout the entire United States. After a long contest, Congress in 1919 passed a resolution to this effect; this Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, and became part of the constitution in August, 1920.



Courtesy of Mr. Taft.

William Howard Taft

Whose conspicuous services as President and later as private citizen during the World War mark him as one of the great Americans of the age.

Other Recent Amendments. Two important amendments were added to the federal Constitution in the year 1913. The Sixteenth Amendment authorized Congress to tax incomes, while the Seventeenth Amendment provides that United States Senators shall be elected by a direct vote of the people, instead of by the state legislatures. By the year 1917, twenty-seven states had forbidden the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquor within their borders. Finally, the supporters of prohibition were able to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in Congress for the submission of a national prohibition amendment. By January, 1919, three fourths of the state legislatures had ratified this Eighteenth Amendment. It forbids the manufacture or sale of liquor throughout the entire United States after January 16, 1920.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law. William H. Taft of Ohio succeeded Theodore Roosevelt as President on March 4, 1909, having defeated William J. Bryan, twice before the standard-bearer of the Democratic party. The new President had been

Secretary of War under Roosevelt's administration, and the tariff was the chief issue of the campaign. Shortly after his inauguration, President Taft called Congress in special session to consider the tariff question. After a five months' debate, Congress passed the Payne-Aldrich Act, a high tariff measure. This time the Republicans were not so well united in favor of protection; and a group of Republican members of Congress, called insurgents, declared that the tariff rates ought to be reduced. They charged that by shutting out foreign competition, the tariff was aiding the trusts to control prices.

Results of the Insurgent Movement. The insurgent movement in the Republican party led to several important results. For many years the Speaker of the House of Representatives had exercised large powers over legislation; indeed, his position was second in importance only to that of the President himself. But in March, 1910, Republican insurgents, aided by the Democrats, deprived the Speaker of some of his powers. As a result, members of the House have more control over its proceedings. The House of Representatives now elects its own committees, instead of permitting the Speaker to appoint them.

The insurgent movement continued to gain force, until in the presidential campaign of 1912 it led to the formation of the Progressive party. This new party was made up of the supporters of ex-President Roosevelt, who again became a candidate for the Republican nomination in 1912. But the Republican convention renominated President Taft, whereupon the Progressives held a separate convention, and nominated Roosevelt amid wild enthusiasm. This split in the Republican ranks made certain the election of the Democratic nominee, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. Of the 531 electoral votes, Wilson received 435, Roosevelt 88, and Taft 8. The Democrats also secured control of both houses of Congress, and thus were in a position to carry out their policies.

President Wilson and Mexico. Among the important measures of President Wilson's first administration were the Underwood Tariff Act, the Federal Reserve Act, and the law

establishing a Federal Trade Commission. While Congress and the President were considering these questions, our relation with Mexico reached a critical stage. The revolution against President Diaz in 1911 overthrew the leader who had ruled Mexico with a strong hand for thirty years. A succession of revolts now seemed likely to prevent the establishment of any government strong enough to maintain law and order. The successor of Diaz was President Madero, but he was soon assassinated, and General Huerta proclaimed himself President.

There was reason to believe that Huerta himself was responsible for the murder of Madero; and on this account, as well as because Huerta was attempting to rule as a dictator, President Wilson refused to recognize him as the lawful ruler of Mexico. This policy angered Huerta's supporters, and soon the lives and property of our citizens in Mexico were in serious danger. In April, 1914, Mexican soldiers at Tampico arrested several United States sailors, two of whom were forcibly taken from a launch flying the American flag. President Huerta promptly ordered the release of the prisoners, but refused Admiral Mayo's demand for a salute to our flag by way of apology. President Wilson then ordered our fleet to occupy the port of Vera Cruz, which was easily captured by United States marines. In the end, the dispute was settled through the friendly mediation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. It was agreed that President Huerta should resign from office, and that the United States should recognize the provisional government which would then be established.

United States Troops Enter Mexico. General Carranza became the next president of Mexico, but one of his most skillful generals, Francisco Villa, soon headed a new revolt. When the United States recognized Carranza as President, Villa swore vengeance upon our citizens. Under cover of night, his troops made a raid on the town of Columbus, New Mexico, where they killed seventeen Americans (March 9, 1916). President Wilson ordered a force of regulars under General John J. Pershing into Mexico with orders to pursue and capture Villa, but that bandit chieftain scattered his forces and made good his escape.

Although President Carranza had made no attempt to prevent the border raids, he protested strongly against our sending troops into Mexico, and refused to coöperate with them against Villa. Finally, Carranza ordered his forces to halt the advance of General Pershing's column, and at Carrizal the Mexicans killed a score of American troopers.

War with Mexico now appeared certain, and on June 18, 1916, President Wilson called out the entire National Guard for service on the Mexican border. This action convinced the Mexican government that the United States was in earnest, and President Carranza proposed a conference to discuss the issues between the two countries. It was agreed that our troops should be withdrawn from Mexico, and that each country should guard its own side of the border. Our troops were accordingly withdrawn, but at the same time Mexico was notified that we reserved the right to pursue marauders across the border, if such action again became necessary. Later events disclosed that the German government had bribed the Mexican revolutionists to attack the lives and property of our citizens in Mexico and along the border. By involving the United States in a war with Mexico, the German government believed that our nation would be less able to defend itself against German outrages on the high seas.

The Presidential Election of 1916. The national nominating conventions of 1916 were held just as the country seemed on the verge of war with Mexico. President Wilson had no rival for the Democratic nomination; while the Republicans chose as their candidate, Charles E. Hughes, then serving as Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The supporters of ex-President Roosevelt tried to secure his nomination by the Republicans as well as by the Progressive party. When the Republican convention nominated Justice Hughes, Mr. Roosevelt declined the Progressive nomination, urging his followers to support the Republican candidate. In their appeal to the voters, the Democrats pointed to the record of President Wilson's administration; they had passed some of the measures promised in their platform of 1912, and their candidate

had kept the country out of the World War. The contest proved a close one, but the final returns showed the reëlection of President Wilson.

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CHAPTER XLV

THE PROGRESS OF A HALF CENTURY, 1865–1915

Population and Industrial Life. The half century since the Civil War has been an era of marvelous growth and prosperity. Since 1865 our population has trebled, and to-day more than one hundred million people live in the United States. Much of this increase is due to immigration, for Europe has sent us twenty millions of her population since 1870. The peopling of the West has added twelve new states to the Union, so that our flag now has forty-eight stars. Progress in industry has been even more rapid than the growth in population. The value of our agricultural products is seven times as great as in 1865, while the value of our manufactures has been multiplied by twelve. Until the close of the war, agriculture was still our dominant industry; but to-day the United States is the foremost manufacturing nation of the world. As a result of this growth of manufactures, more of our people now live in cities than in the country. Meantime, life on the farm, as well as in the cities, has been transformed through the use of modern inventions and improved methods of production.

Our Supremacy in Agriculture. Our country's wonderful development in agriculture during the last fifty years is due chiefly to three causes:

(1) The opening up of new lands in the West under the Homestead Act, and the increased number of small farms in the South.

(2) The use of improved machinery, so that one farm laborer to-day can do the work of five men in 1865.

(3) More intelligent farming, largely the result of the work of the Department of Agriculture, and of the state agriculture colleges and experiment stations.

Agriculture as a Science. Our national Department of Agriculture was established in 1862. This department now employs about fifteen thousand persons who give expert aid to farmers on such questions as soil management, drainage, irrigation, the breeding of live stock, the destruction of insect pests, and the prevention of disease among sheep and cattle. Our farmers have learned to rotate their crops so as to prevent soil exhaustion, and to keep careful records of costs in order to know which crop pays best. This scientific knowledge, together

Courtesy of the Department of Agriculture.

Stock Raising, Sierra Bonita Ranch, Arizona

with such improvements as the self-binding reaper, the gasoline motor for plowing and cultivating, the wire fence, the interurban railway, improved roads, the automobile, the telephone, and rural free delivery, have all combined to revolutionize farm life.

To-day corn instead of cotton is king of our agricultural crops. The value of our corn crop in 1919 was $3,507,000,000, while the cotton crop was worth $2,355,000,000. The United States leads the world in the production of corn and cotton, and holds second rank in the production of wheat and oats. Three fourths

of our corn crop is fed to live stock, and comes to the market in the form of beef, pork, and dairy products. Cotton is still our chief agricultural export; of this product the South grows sixty per cent of the world's supply.

Our Position as a Manufacturing Nation. The enormous growth of manufactures since the Civil War is the most striking fact in our industrial history. Our country held fourth place among the manufacturing nations of the world in 1865; while thirty years later, the United States had won first place, our present position. This industrial supremacy is the result of many advantages:

(1) Our vast territory, with its immense agricultural and mineral resources.

(2) A magnificent system of inland waterways, supplemented by the largest railway system in the world.

(3) The concentration of manufacturing in large plants, making possible large capital, expensive machinery, minute subdivision of labor, and the many economies of large-scale production.

(4) The American genius for invention.

(5) The energy and efficiency of our workers, trained under a system of free education.

New Uses for Steel. Our iron and steel industry has made wonderful progress since 1864. Bessemer's discovery of a cheap process of converting iron into steel wrought a revolution in this industry, and steel began to supplant iron for general use. The frames of our large office buildings are now built of steel, the railroads use steel instead of iron rails, the cars and locomotives are built of steel, while our ocean liners and freight steamers are steel ships. For these and a thousand other uses, including tools and machinery of every kind, steel is the one indispensable material. Cheap iron ore, cheap coal, and cheap water transportation to bring them together, are the factors which have made the United States the world's chief producer of steel. Another important factor is large-scale production with its many advantages. The United States Steel Corporation, with its capital of $1,400,000,000, has brought under one man-

agement iron and coal mines, railways and steamers, coke-oven and blast furnaces, steel plants and machine shops.

Progress in Other Industries. Steel is not the only industry in which the United States leads the world. Our cotton mills employ four hundred thousand hands, and each year produce goods worth over $600,000,000. Our slaughtering and meat-packing industry, centered in Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha, has an annual output valued at over one billion dollars. Our

Courtesy of the Armour Company

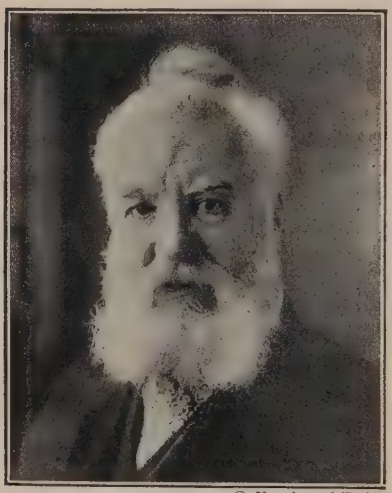
The Armour Meat-Packing Plant, Chicago

This plant covers 98 acres of city blocks.

annual output of lumber products also exceeds the billion-dollar mark. With the increased use of electricity for lighting, power, and transportation, our copper industry has expanded until it is equal to that of all the rest of the world combined. The United States mines more coal than any other country, produces more petroleum than all the rest of the world, and has nearly two fifths of the world's railway mileage with which to transport its products to market.

Our Great Industrial Sections. The census of 1920 gives a list of nearly three hundred manufacturing industries in which the people of the United States are engaged. These industries are scattered over the whole country, but four states surpass all others as manufacturing states. These are New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts, each of which in 1920 produced manufactures valued at more than $2,000,000,000. Three other states, Ohio, New Jersey, and Michigan, each had products valued at $1,000,000,000.

Some industries are confined not only to a certain state, but to a particular city which has specialized upon the production of some commodity. For example, Minneapolis is famous for its flour mills; Omaha for its meat-packing industry; Grand Rapids for its furniture; Detroit for automobiles; Pittsburgh for iron and steel products; Paterson for silk goods; Waltham for watches; Lynn for boots and shoes; and Providence for jewelry. This localization of industries may be due to the nearness of the raw material, or to the presence of coal fields. In some industries, as in cotton manufacturing, an even, moist climate, like that of Fall River and New Bedford, is a favorable condition. With other advantages equal, industries are more likely to locate where laborers are numerous and efficient, and where capital is easily available.



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Alexander Graham Bell

Inventor of the telephone (1872).

The Age of Electricity. Electricity has come to be of such importance in modern industry that the period since the Civil War is sometimes called the "age of electricity." After several unsuccessful attempts, the first telegraph cable was laid across the Atlantic in the year 1866. At the Centennial Exposition in 1876, Alexander Graham Bell exhibited his new invention, the telephone. Beginning about 1880, the dynamo came into general use for the purpose of generating electricity on a large scale. The dynamo is commonly driven by means of a steam or gasoline engine, or by a water wheel; and the electric current which it generates can be carried long distances by wire, and sold to consumers for use as light or power. By means of a motor, the electric current is used to drive machinery; for

example, the Niagara River furnishes the electric current which lights the streets and buildings of Buffalo, and runs its factories. By 1895, nearly all of the street cars in the country were being moved by electric motors, instead of by horses. Then followed the rapid construction of electric interurban lines, uniting city with country as never before. Arc lighting was introduced in 1880, and this was followed by the use of the incandescent filament which to-day lights thousands of homes throughout the country.

Scientists had long known that electricity travels through space without the necessity of using a wire. Finally, in 1896 an Italian scientist, Marconi, invented a wireless apparatus for telegraphing through space. Soon wireless messages could be sent across the Atlantic, or from ship to ship in mid-ocean. Later experiments in wireless telephony made it possible to send the human voice across the ocean; and in 1919 a Marconi engineer seated in a wireless station in Ireland talked with an operator in Nova Scotia. In the field of surgery, a new use for electricity has been found in the X-ray, a device which enables the surgeon to photograph the bones of a living body.

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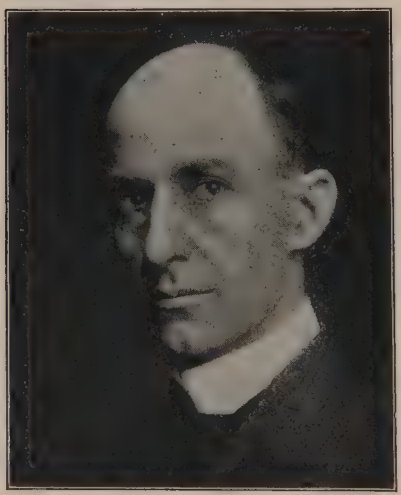
Thomas A. Edison

Edison's success is due not only to his wonderful native ability, but also to his untiring energy and industry. His inventions have given employment in this country alone to one million people.

An Age of Inventions. Many other wonderful inventions and discoveries belong to the half century following the Civil War. These include the Westinghouse air-brake, the Janney

car-coupler, the compressed-air drill, dynamite, the barbed-wire fence, the machine for making tin cans, the Owens bottle-making machine, the gas engine, the automobile, the passenger elevator, the typewriter, the dictaphone, the cash register, the adding machine, the phonograph, the moving picture, and a thousand other devices that have transformed industrial and social life. In a single year (1912), our government granted thirty-five thousand patents to inventors. Modern warfare was made more deadly by the introduction of high explosives, by the invention of the machine gun, the submarine, the aeroplane, and the dirigible balloon. The Wright brothers of Dayton, Ohio, constructed the first successful aeroplane in 1903.



Courtesy of Mr. Orville Wright.

Wilbur Wright

Expositions or World's Fairs. This wonderful progress in science and industry, as well as in education and the fine arts, was exhibited in a series of magnificent expositions. The World's Columbian Exposition, held at Chicago in 1893, marked the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. The Exposition was to have been held in 1892, the anniversary year of the discovery, but the magnitude of the preparations delayed the opening until the following year. The site chosen was Jackson Park on the lake front, the largest building being that devoted to manufactures and liberal arts, which covered forty-four acres. It is estimated that twelve million people saw the wonderful exhibits, which were planned to show the progress of the world since the time of Columbus. For example, in the transportation building were shown the old Conestoga wagon and the stage coach of one

hundred and fifty years ago, side by side with a huge modern locomotive.

Eight years later a great Pan-American Exposition was held at Buffalo (1901). This aimed to show the world the resources and achievements of the American continents, also to promote closer trade relations between the United States and the countries of Central and South America. In the year 1904, the one hundredth anniversary of the purchase of Louisiana was celebrated by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis.

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The famous sky-line of New York looking north from the harbor, showing Battery Park, which is at the southern tip of Manhattan Island. The tallest tower in the center is the Woolworth Building, which has 60 stories and is 792 feet high. The tower on the left is the Singer Building and the one on the right is the Municipal Building.

In the following year, an exposition at Portland, Oregon, marked the anniversary of the journey of Lewis and Clark to the Columbia River Valley. The last, and in some respects the greatest, of the series of world's fairs was the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, held at San Francisco in 1915.

Foreign Commerce. Our foreign trade is seven times as large as in 1860. Before the Civil War, we bought more goods from other countries than we sold to them, paying for the difference in gold or in securities. Now the balance of trade, as it is called, is largely in our favor. This means that the United

States is no longer a borrowing country, but has an industrial surplus. European countries are debtors, not creditors, of the United States. Before the great World War, less than one tenth of our immense foreign trade was carried in American ships. The destruction in a single year of more than six million tons of shipping by German submarines made it necessary for the United States to enter upon a shipbuilding program of gigantic proportions. Within a few years, our country regained its early position as one of the great carrying nations of the world.

Remarkable Growth of American Cities. The rapid growth of cities is one of the most striking facts in our history. When Washington was President, only about three per cent of the population lived in cities; at present more than one half of our people are city residents. In 1790 there were only six cities with over 10,000 population; to-day there are sixty-eight cities with a population of 100,000 or more. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Philadelphia was the largest city, with about 30,000 people; the last census gave greater New York a population of 4,766,483, and eighteen other cities a population of over 250,000. During the decade from 1910 to 1920, the urban population of the United States increased nine times as fast as the rural population.

This increase in urban population is due chiefly to the development of great manufacturing industries, employing thousands of workmen. In addition to large numbers of native workers, these industries attract hosts of immigrants from Europe. Then, too, large numbers of people are drawn from the country to the city on account of the larger business opportunities which city life seems to promise; while others come in search of better educational and social advantages.

Problems Confronting Our Cities. Many serious problems have resulted from this wonderful growth of our cities. First, there is the question of providing school accommodations for the rapidly increasing number of city children. The problem of education in the large industrial cities is made more difficult by the annual arrival of thousands of immigrants, whose children must be transformed through the public school system

into intelligent and loyal American citizens. Then, especially in the larger cities, there is a serious housing problem. In great centers of population like New York and Philadelphia, a thousand people sometimes dwell in a single city block, and there are hundreds of families each living in a single room. This congestion of population in the tenements invites disease, and is a constant menace to the health and morals of the entire city. Hence the question of regulating tenements, and indeed the whole problem of protecting the city's health, becomes a matter of vital public concern.

Another difficult municipal question is that of transportation. Rapidly growing cities require enlarged transportation facilities, in order that the thousands of toilers may be able to reach their work; hence our largest cities, New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia, have built elevated railroads, in addition to the usual surface car-lines. New York and Boston have also provided immense subway systems. Other difficulties arise from the rapid growth of cities to a size not anticipated when the city was founded. The lack of adequate provision for parks and public squares, the failure to provide wide business streets and boulevards, and to reserve land for public buildings, often necessitates reconstructing certain portions of the city at a large expense.

Our Most Serious Municipal Problem. The solution of these problems is made more difficult by the fact that city residents are not acquainted with one another, as in the country. Even candidates for the ward offices are often unknown to the majority of voters within the ward; and too often voters blindly cast a partisan ballot, regardless of the merits of the candidates. So numerous are the officials, and so complicated is the question of responsibility for results, that voters cannot readily detect mismanagement of the city's business. Hence, although our municipal governments spend more money in proportion to the population than either the state or national governments, city residents often become indifferent concerning the management of public affairs. Frequently they permit professional politicians to run the city government to please themselves.

The Commission Plan of City Government. The large number of city officials, and the distribution of authority among many boards and officers, makes it difficult to hold any one responsible for the management of the city's business. One of the most promising means of correcting this condition is known as the commission plan of city government. Under this plan, the entire city administration is intrusted to commissioners, usually five in number, elected by the voters of the city. One of the commissioners has the title of mayor, and has general supervision over the entire administration. Each of the other commissioners has charge of one of the four city departments: (1) the department of finance, (2) that of waterworks and sewers, (3) police and fire protection, and (4) streets and public property. All of the commissioners meet together to pass ordinances, to make important appointments, vote appropriations, and award contracts.

The commission plan does away with the city council, and makes the government of the city more like that of a business corporation, which intrusts large powers to a small board of directors. Thus it has the great merit of definitely locating responsibility for the city's administration. More than five hundred cities have now adopted some form of commission government, and the system is rapidly growing in public favor.

The City-Manager Plan. Within recent years, many cities have adopted a still different system, known as the city-manager plan. Under this plan, the voters elect three or five commissioners; but instead of carrying on the administration themselves, the commissioners employ a city manager for this work. The city-manager plan aims to secure expert service in carrying on the city's business, in the same way that a corporation employs a capable manager for its affairs. Dayton, Ohio, is the largest city that employs a city manager.

The New Education. The chief merit of the early district school system was that it placed elementary education easily within the reach of all. Its drawback was that pupils of all ages and grades were taught by one teacher, who could give only a small amount of time to each class. To overcome this dis-

advantage, all the district schools of the township are now often consolidated in one centrally located building, with several teachers. By this plan, pupils can be graded, and the different classes placed in separate rooms; and at the same time, better paid and better trained teachers can be employed. Township or union high schools are also established on this plan, since it is impossible for each small district to support a separate high school. The disadvantage of consolidating rural schools is the distance that pupils must travel to reach the centralized school. This difficulty has been met in many communities by providing a wagon or a motor bus which transports pupils to and from school.

Courtesy of George H. Palmer.

Alice Freeman Palmer

As President of Wellesley College, Alice Freeman became one of our foremost modern educators.

Administration of City Schools. Each city ordinarily constitutes a separate school district, with its own board of education chosen by the voters, as in the case of rural schools. This board employs the superintendent and teachers, purchases school sites, erects and maintains buildings, and sometimes furnishes the textbooks and supplies used by the pupils. The elementary school buildings usually contain from eight to forty rooms, the classes being graded from the primary room through the eighth grade (or, through the sixth grade, in case the city has adopted the Junior High School plan). Kindergartens are often provided for children between the ages of four and six years; special instructors supervise the work in manual training, domestic science, sewing, drawing, music, physical training, and penmanship; playgrounds are

equipped in connection with each building; special classes care for children who are backward or mentally defective; school physicians and nurses endeavor to guard against contagious disease, and to raise the physical standard of pupils; open-air schools are maintained for children who are threatened with tuberculosis; while night classes offer educational opportunities to those unable to attend day school on account of their employment.

City High Schools. In addition to its elementary schools, every city maintains one or more high schools. These are

Courtesy of W. M. Davidson.

The Schenley High School, Pittsburgh

Among the finest in architecture and equipment.

often housed in splendid buildings, which cost from $400,000 in the smaller cities to $1,500,000 in the larger ones. The high school course comprises four years of study, following the eight years of the elementary schools; or three years, if the Junior High School plan has been adopted. The modern high school has been called the "people's college"; and the work of these schools to-day is more than equivalent to that of the colleges of forty years ago. Most high schools offer several courses of study, from which the pupil may choose the one that he wishes to follow. Well-equipped laboratories are provided for work in chemistry, physics, physiology, and the other sciences; while many high schools have a splendid equipment for work in

manual training, domestic science and art, commercial branches, and other practical subjects.

State Educational Department. In most commonwealths there is a state superintendent or commissioner of schools, elected by the voters of the state or appointed by the governor. This officer collects statistics, inspects school systems, reports to the legislature or governor concerning the needs of the schools, and in general looks after the educational interests of the entire state. In some commonwealths there is a state board of education with important duties, such as preparing courses of study, examining teachers, and sometimes selecting uniform textbooks for use throughout the state.

Compulsory Education Laws. In our country, education is considered not only a privilege, but a duty. Hence, nearly all of the states have compulsory education laws that require all children from eight to fourteen, or from eight to sixteen years of age, to attend school. The employment in industry of children under fourteen or sixteen years is generally prohibited; and a fine may be imposed upon parents or employers who violate the law. The object of compulsory education is to protect the state from ignorance by assuring each child at least the elements of an education.

State Universities. In addition to the many private colleges and universities throughout the Union, forty commonwealths maintain state universities which students may enter upon completing their high school course. The state universities offer a wide variety of courses in order to equip their students for many different pursuits, — for business life, teaching, law, medicine, pharmacy, engineering, forestry, and agriculture. These institutions aim to make their work practical, and directly related to the life of the people of the state. They seek to improve agricultural methods, to advance manufacturing interests, and to raise the standard of education and health among the people.

American Literature. In literature there are many great names in the period since the Civil War. As a humorist, Samuel L. Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, has a world-

wide reputation. Among the writers of prose fiction, William Dean Howells and Bret Harte have produced work worthy of the masters of the earlier period; while other famous names are those of Henry James, Francis Marion Crawford, and a group of southern writers, George W. Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, and James Lane Allen. Among the poets are Sidney Lanier, Eugene Field, Walt Whitman, Joaquin Miller, and James Whitcomb Riley. Such historians as Francis Parkman, John Fiske, John Bach McMaster, and James Ford Rhodes, have continued the work so well begun by Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley.

Within recent years New York City has become the mecca for authors from all over the country. Among the poets whose work was written in the metropolis are Bayard Taylor, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and Richard Watson Gilder. Our most gifted essayists during the period since the Civil War are George William Curtis, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charles Dudley Warner, and Donald Grant Mitchell. Two masters of the short story are Edward Everett Hale, who wrote *The Man Without a Country*, and Francis Richard Stockton, author of *The Lady or the Tiger?* Among the New England writers famous in the field of the short story are Celia Thaxter, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Mary E. Wilkins-Freeman.

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CHAPTER XLVI

DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL IN THE WORLD WAR

The Rise of Modern Germany. At the Hague Conference of 1907, one power had voted against every proposal to reduce the size of Europe's great armies and navies. That power was the German Empire, voicing the will of Prussia, its largest and most powerful state. Prussia owed its own existence largely to successful wars, and the German Empire owed its existence to Prussia. From a second-rate power in 1860, Prussia rose under Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron" to become the strongest military force in Europe. Bismarck accomplished this result by means of a military system which compelled every man in the country to serve a certain number of years in the army, and to be ready at a moment's notice to join his regiment if there came a call to war. With a great military machine fully organized and equipped, Bismarck was ready for the aggressive wars by which he meant to make Prussia the acknowledged leader of Germany. Aided by Austria, Prussia in 1864 tore from Denmark the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein; next Austria herself was crushed by Prussia, and ousted from the German Confederation (1866); and finally France was vanquished, robbed of two of her richest provinces, and compelled to pay a huge war indemnity as the price of peace. While his victorious armies were laying siege to Paris, the king of Prussia was crowned German Emperor in the ancient palace of the French kings at Versailles (1871).

Out of these three successful wars, modern Germany emerged with boundaries greatly enlarged, and with an implicit belief in war and military force as the best means of advancing her national power. Bismarck's policy appeared fully vindicated, although it was a policy of fraud and trickery as well as of blood

and iron. Bismarck had muzzled the press of Prussia, bullied its parliament, and overridden the will of its people; but Germany readily forgave his methods in view of the great material gains from his policy. The constitution of the new empire gave the German people almost no political power; for the Reichstag or Parliament was only a great debating society, the real rulers being the emperor and the Prussian military leaders.

The German Attitude toward War. In the half century that followed the Franco-Prussian War, the German people patiently endured the burden of immense standing armies and the expenditures for a greater navy. They accepted this situation because they had been carefully educated to look upon war as something inevitable, as necessary to the future greatness of Germany. The schools throughout the empire distorted the facts of history and geography to teach the children of Germany that France was a nation of weaklings, Russia a nation of slaves; that most of the peoples of Europe were descended from Germans, and should be united within the empire; and finally that Germany must have larger boundaries, a result which could only be accomplished by a victorious war. The powerful military leaders, aided by the German press, preached the doctrine that war is a necessity, "an ordinance of God for the weeding out of weak and incompetent individuals and States." Thus modern Germany came to believe that a nation is not great unless it has military power; and that this power gives it the right to deal with weaker nations as it chooses. If a weaker people possesses anything that the rulers of a stronger people want, those rulers need only plead military necessity, and no law of man or God may stay them from working their will. "Might makes right," said the German militarist, "and the dispute as to what is right is to be decided by war."

Germany's Curious Notion of Race Superiority. Along with this doctrine that might makes right, that war is "a beautiful and holy thing," the Germans were taught another curious theory. This was that the German race is a race of superior beings as compared with other peoples; that its civilization

(*Kultur*) is superior to all other civilizations; and hence that it is the duty of Germany to civilize and Germanize the world! "God has called us to civilize the world," declared Emperor William II; "we are the missionaries of human progress." It is not strange that this people, feeling themselves to be superior beings, came to believe that Germany did not possess the colonies, the commerce, and the influence which such a superior nation ought to have. "It is only by relying on our good German sword," wrote the Crown Prince, "that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us. Till the world comes to an end, the ultimate decision must rest with the sword."

Germany's Dream of World Empire. Inspired by these ideals, the military party which ruled Germany had for many years planned an aggressive war which should give Germany her place as the foremost world power. Not content with the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine which she had wrested from France in 1871, Germany planned in this new war to steal the northeastern portion of France and to annex the whole of Belgium. This would give her immense fields of coal and iron ore, so necessary for industry, and especially for the manufacture of armaments; while the seizure of the Channel ports would enable her to hold a dagger at the heart of England. For Britain, with her world empire, was the enemy which Germany expected to attack eventually, although she hoped that this would be in a later war, after France and Russia were crushed. For was not England, a nation of tradespeople, among whom war was not glorified, already becoming decrepit? Was she not a "colossus with feet of clay," whose world empire would crumble before the might of the rising power in Central Europe? So the favorite toast among German officers was to *der Tag*, the day on which the British fleet should be beaten, and London occupied by a victorious German army.

And after Britain, then America, peace-loving, idealistic, defenseless America, might be taken in hand, and taught her proper and subordinate place in a world ruled by German power. "I shall tolerate no more nonsense from America

after this war!" said Kaiser Wilhelm to our Ambassador Gerard, when President Wilson protested against the murder of American citizens on the high seas.

The Spoils of a Successful War. On her eastern frontier, Germany's spoils of war were to be Russia's Baltic provinces, together with the territory to the southward; while Russian Poland was to become a vassal German state. A victorious Germany would then, as a matter of course, dominate Austria-Hungary, Turkey, the Balkan states, and Asia Minor, and thus form a great Middle-Europe Empire extending from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. Nor did Germany intend to content herself with dominion over the continent of Europe. The French and Belgian colonies in Africa were to be seized, for the simple reason that Germany had few colonies, and wanted more. Even free America was sooner or later to be brought under the dominion of the new world empire. Using the German colony in southern Brazil as a base of military operations, all the valuable portion of South America was to be brought under German rule. A power which treated its solemn promise to observe the neutrality of Belgium as a mere "scrap of paper" could hardly be expected to regard our Monroe Doctrine seriously. If the United States dared to resist, we had the Kaiser's own word for it that he would tolerate no nonsense from us. German armies might try to occupy our great coast cities, in the hope that the payment of a huge war indemnity would teach us proper respect for German *Kultur*.

Courtesy of the Belgian Legation.

King Albert

Not a mere figurehead ruler, but a real leader of his people.

This ambitious program was not the dream of a few German visionaries or jingoes. It was an actual plan, carefully worked out in detail by the war-mad clique which ruled Germany. The German people, it is true, were not consulted in the matter; there was no need to consult them, for Germany was ruled, not by her people, but by the Kaiser supported by the military leaders and the Prussian aristocracy. So audacious and so insolent is this German plan of world power that it startles our belief; yet in the fateful year of 1914 it came near to realization. "Now strikes the hour for Germany's rising power," wrote one of her editors as the German armies were launched across neutral Belgium to strike France at a point where she would not expect attack. Only the heroic resistance of the little Belgian army, the defeat of the German hordes by France in the battle of the Marne, and England's unbroken power on the sea, prevented Germany's dream of world empire from becoming an accomplished fact.

Germany's Allies and Her Military Preparations. Within two years after hostilities began, thirty-eight million men were bearing arms in the most terrible war of the world's history. On the side of Germany were three of the central European countries, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Allied with France, England, and Russia in the struggle against world despotism were Italy, Belgium, Japan, Portugal, Serbia, and Rumania.

From the outset, Germany had several advantages over her opponents. For nearly fifty years she had been making ready for war, while England, Russia, and even France, were quite unprepared. Germany's immense armies were fully trained and equipped; she had a vast supply of ammunition, machine guns, and heavy cannon, far exceeding that which all the rest of the world could assemble; she was ready with her poison gas shells, the use of which was forbidden by the rules of civilized warfare; she had her immense Zeppelins to hurl bombs upon unfortified cities, and her submarines for the murder of men, women, and children on the high seas. Along the Belgian frontier, Germany had built a complete system of

railways for the quick invasion of Belgium and France; on her eastern frontier, a similar system was ready to carry her troops into Russia. In the year 1913, Germany increased the peace strength of her army to 900,000 men, and made ready to strike. The dispute between Austria and Serbia in 1914 furnished the pretext for Germany's ultimatum to Russia and France, followed by her declaration of war against those countries. In violation of her solemn pledge to respect the neutrality of Belgium, Germany began hostilities by invading that country in order to strike France at her most vulnerable point. In this way Germany was able to intrench her armies on French soil before the Allies could make an effective resistance.

The United States Faces the Problems of Neutrality. Germany began her invasion of Belgium and France in August, 1914, and for two years and eight months the United States maintained an attitude of strict neutrality between the warring powers. With all of the great powers of Europe at war, President Wilson's position was a difficult one. The chief trouble, as during the Napoleonic wars, was with regard to our trade on the ocean. The United States tried to maintain the right of our citizens to trade with the countries at war, subject to the rules of international law. Under these rules, our ships had a right to the freedom of the seas provided they did not carry contraband of war, or attempt to break an established blockade. Even if they did either of these things, the penalty was seizure of the ship only, while the crews must be given an opportunity to save their lives. But from the outset, Germany disregarded international law on the ocean just as she had done on land by invading neutral Belgium. Her submarines sank several of our merchant ships without any regard for the safety of their crews.

The Sinking of the Unarmed *Lusitania*. Finally, on May 7, 1915, a German submarine torpedoed the unarmed British liner *Lusitania* without warning. Twelve hundred men, women, and children were drowned, including 124 Americans. Our citizens were entirely within their rights in taking passage on the *Lusitania*, and the sinking of the steamer with-

out giving its passengers and crew an opportunity to save their lives was not war, but murder. Yet medals were struck by the Germans to commemorate this event, and only evasive answers were given to our protests. Even after the *Lusitania* outrage, President Wilson made every effort to avoid war, but Germany merely concluded that our people were too cowardly to fight, and continued her policy of terrorizing on the high seas.

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The Allies Pay Tribute to Washington at Mount Vernon

The Right Honorable Arthur J. Balfour, British Foreign Minister, addressing the representatives of our Allies who brought flowers to place on Washington's tomb.

About one year later, the sinking of the British steamer *Sussex* without warning brought on a new crisis (March 24, 1916). The United States now made an imperative demand that Germany should conduct her submarine campaign in accordance with international law by warning ships before sinking them, and by placing their passengers and crews in safety. Germany made a conditional agreement to do this; later events proved that she had no intention of keeping her promise, but only wanted time to build more submarines.

German Intrigues against the United States. Meantime, the German government carried on numberless intrigues in the United States, intrigues directed by her official representatives at Washington. She filled our country with spies; her agents placed bombs in merchant vessels about to sail from our ports; they stirred up strikes among our laborers, set fire to our munition factories, and bribed American writers and lecturers to oppose war with Germany even at the cost of our national self-respect. In the hope of bringing about a war between Mexico and the United States, Germany spent large sums on the Mexican revolutionists. Later, her foreign minister Zimmermann sent a dispatch to Mexico urging that country to ally herself with Germany against the United States, and try to draw in Japan on her side; by way of reward, Mexico was to receive Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico! But the crowning insolence of German diplomacy was the dispatch which Ambassador Bernstorff cabled from Washington to his government at Berlin. He asked to be given authority to expend $50,000 " in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of."

Our Country decides to Fight for Democracy. On the last day of January, 1917, the German ambassador handed to our Secretary of State Lansing a note announcing the intention of Germany to adopt a ruthless submarine policy on a vast scale. After February 1, German submarines would endeavor to sink, without warning, every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain or Ireland, or the western coast of Europe, or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. This was a direct challenge to the United States; and President Wilson made the only possible answer by handing the German ambassador his passports, thereby severing relations with a government which had repeatedly shown its bad faith.

Following her new decree of ruthlessness, Germany sank eight more American ships. In all, two hundred and twenty-six American citizens, many of them women and children, had now lost their lives by the action of German submarines.

Germany's warfare against commerce had become, as President Wilson said, a warfare against mankind; and on April 2, 1917, he appeared before Congress to deliver his famous war message. The President recounted the outrages which Germany had committed against the lives and property of our citizens, and referred to her false promises made only to be broken. "We shall not choose the path of submission," he declared, "and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated." President Wilson solemnly advised Congress to accept the state of war which Germany had forced upon the people of the United States. "It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free people as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

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Woodrow Wilson

In his war message to Congress, President Wilson said: "We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."

Why War was our only Recourse. A few days after the President's message, Congress adopted a resolution that a state

of war existed between the United States and Germany (April 6, 1917). Three reasons made this decision imperative:

(1) Because of the renewal by Germany of her submarine warfare in a more violent form than ever before, resulting in the loss of American lives and property on the high seas. As in the War of 1812, the United States was called upon to defend the principle that the deck of an American ship is the same as American soil, and that the flag which floats over the ship protects the lives of the men beneath it.

The Congressional Medal of Honor

Granted only in cases of the most conspicuous bravery.

(2) Because of the menace to the Monroe Doctrine and to our own independence, resulting from the ambitions of a war-mad Germany. If we had stayed out of the war, the Monroe Doctrine would have become an empty threat before a victorious Germany.

(3) Because the European war had become a conflict between democratic nations on the one hand, and autocratic nations on the other. Germany had trampled under foot the law of nations, openly proclaiming that "necessity knows no law." She threatened the freedom of the world, opposing her policy of might and force against the principles of right and humanity. "The world," as President Wilson said, "must be made safe for democracy." Little Belgium had a right to its own national life, the French people had a right to live in peace, American citizens had a right to travel on the ocean highways of the world free from the haunting terror of German ruthlessness.

Conscripting a National Army. As in the case of all our previous wars, the United States was almost wholly unprepared in April, 1917. This was especially true of our army, which was so small and so poorly equipped that Germany looked upon it with contempt. Our entire army, including the National Guard, numbered only 202,000 men; and we had no trained reserves, since our people had never favored uni-

versal military service. We had scarcely enough uniforms even for this small force, while there was a sad lack of rifles, machine guns, artillery, airships, and all the weapons of modern warfare. Congress and the President now set earnestly at work to organize the nation for war, and within a year great results were achieved. In May, 1917, Congress passed a law which created a new national army, to be chosen by draft out of all the able-bodied men in the United States between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years, inclusive. In the following June, 9,650,000 young men were registered for war service before some 4000 local draft boards. It was decided that the first installment to be called out in 1917 should number 687,000 men, and that about the same number should be called in 1918.

Nearly all of these men were without any military training whatever; so it was necessary to establish a number of immense camps where they could be assembled and prepared for the stern work ahead of them. Within a few months, sixteen cantonments, or great army camps, were constructed at different points throughout the United States. Each cantonment was really a complete city by itself, with accommodations for about 47,000 men. The entire National Guard was also called out, recruited to its war strength of 450,000 men, and sent into great tented camps. The regular army was increased by voluntary enlistment; and at the end of our first year of war, 1,500,000 soldiers were bearing arms for the United States.

Our Army of Five Million Men. By the summer of 1918, it was evident that the United States must have still larger armies. Great Britain, France, and Italy had suffered enormous losses in their long heroic struggle to save the world's freedom; while Russia had abandoned the Allies, thereby releasing many German divisions for service on the western front. So in August, 1918, Congress passed another draft law which required all men from eighteen to forty-five years, inclusive, to register for service. Our government now planned to have an army of four million men in France before the summer of 1919, besides another million in our training camps in this country. The military leaders of Germany had told their people that

German submarines would make it impossible for us to send troops across the Atlantic. This theory proved incorrect; for within fifteen months after our declaration of war, we were sending troops to France at the rate of about 250,000 each month. When the armistice was signed, our army included 3,734,420 men in service. Of this number, 2,002,175 were already overseas, while 94,000 more were on transports, en route to Europe.

Expansion of the Navy. To protect these troops while crossing the Atlantic, and to aid in hunting down enemy submarines, our navy was greatly strengthened. The number of men was increased from 82,000 to nearly 500,000; and contracts were let for the construction of vessels of every type, from super-dreadnaughts to submarine chasers. Many privately owned vessels, yachts, and fast motor boats were taken over, and transformed into patrol boats, submarine chasers, and mine sweepers. Our government also seized the German merchant ships that had taken refuge in our ports to avoid capture by the British navy. The German engineers tried to damage these vessels so that they could not be used; and the former commander of the *Vaterland* boasted that he would take off his hat to any American who could put his ship in shape in time to be of service during the war. Within six months from the day he made his boast, the engineers and artificers of the American navy had the former liner ready for service; renamed the *Leviathan*, she carried 12,000 American soldiers to France on each voyage. In all, some 1300 ships were added to our navy during the war. About 300 of these, with 75,000 men, were in European waters when hostilities ceased.

Twenty-eight days after we declared war, our first squadron of destroyers and battleships reached England, ready to cooperate with the British and French fleets. "When will you be ready for business?" asked the British commander, on the morning of May 4. "We can start at once," replied Admiral William S. Sims. "We made preparations on the way over. That is why we are ready." The American vessels immediately

began operations in the submarine zone; and the losses from the German submarines steadily diminished from that time. In convoying our troops, American and British warships made a wonderful record. Two million soldiers were landed in France with the loss of only seven hundred men. Of this achievement, Archibald Hurd, the British naval expert, said: "When the war is over, the nation will form some conception of the debt which we owe the American Navy for the manner in which it has coöperated, not only in connection with the convoy system, but in fighting the submarines. Some of the finest battleships of the United States Navy are now associated with the British Grand Fleet. They are not only splendid fighting ships, but they are well officered and manned."

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William S. Sims

Three things will always be remembered of Admiral Sims. He taught American gunners to shoot with deadly accuracy; he compelled American ship constructors to build warships of better design; and in the World War, he coöperated most effectively with the British navy in crushing the submarines.

American Industry Organized for War. American industry, no less than the army and navy, had to be reorganized to meet the immense demands made upon it for guns, ammunition, airplanes, clothing, shoes, and above all else, for ships and food supplies. Modern warfare is a problem of industry as well as one of military tactics, and the great industrial strength of the United States was soon welded into a vast war machine. The bravest troops in the world would be helpless without an adequate supply of rifles and machine guns, backed up by heavy artillery, tanks, and airships. Except for a number of Springfield rifles, we had practically

none of these weapons. Throughout most of the war, therefore, we had to rely upon France, especially for heavy artillery and for aeroplanes. But American manufacturers made tremendous efforts to provide for our military needs; and if the war had lasted a few months longer, our factories would have been supplying all of our own needs, and part of the equipment for the Allies as well.

Production of Rifles, Artillery, and Gas. When the war began, we had on hand about 600,000 Springfield rifles. The

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A Camouflaged Baby Tank in the Victory Loan Drive

This two-man tank is drawing a captured German field piece under the Memorial Arch at Madison Square, New York, erected in honor of the return of the 27th Division.

daily production of these was greatly increased, and the modified Enfield rifle was turned out in still larger numbers. When peace came we had 3,000,000 rifles on hand, and new ones were coming through at the rate of 50,000 a week. We had made 50,000 of the heavy Browning machine guns, and more than that number of light Browning automatic rifles.

Nearly all of our heavy artillery was purchased in France; but American plants were turning out 75's and howitzers at a quantity rate when the armistice was signed. A few months more, and they would have been able to supply the needs of

the largest army we could have put in the field; and the same was true of our production of high explosive shells and smokeless powder. We had devised a gas mask better than any used during the war; and our Division of Chemical Warfare was making all the varieties of gas known to the Germans, besides a new one by way of surprise, more deadly than the terrible mustard gas. We had built 3500 caterpillar tractors, each capable of carrying an 8-inch howitzer wherever it was needed, climbing out of shell

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A Bombing Squadron at 12,000 feet altitude

These Curtiss JN–4's, the best training plane developed in this country during the war, are executing the famous "V" battle formation. In the early days of the World War, aerial battles were between two opposing planes, "Knights of the Air." Then the Germans developed the "Flying Circus," a group formation which was eventually improved upon by the Allies.

holes and across embankments, as occasion required. When the armistice was signed, our government was building 6000 of the French whippet tanks; and the summer of 1919 would have found our armies supplied with 10,000 Ford baby tanks, each equipped with two automobile engines and mounting a heavy Browning machine gun.

Aircraft Production. Supremacy in the air had already proven of vital importance to the armies fighting in France; so Congress promptly appropriated $640,000,000 for the building of aeroplanes under the direction of the Aircraft Production Board. New methods of lumbering had to be devised in order to obtain the millions of feet of spruce needed for the framework; this lumber was seasoned by a new process to hasten production, and a special fabric of long-fiber cotton

was invented for wing-covering, to replace the unobtainable Irish linen.

So the story of our aircraft production is the story of the development of new industrial processes and methods, and of the training of thousands of men and women in new arts and crafts. Scores of factories were turned from normal production to specialized aircraft work. For example, typewriter and cash register factories were called upon to manufacture the nuts, bolts, and small metal parts needed; furniture factories had to learn the difficult art of manufacturing wings of spruce, covered with fabric; while automobile factories turned out the engines. These were the famous Liberty Motors, a high-power engine of which 31,000 had been produced when peace came. Many of these were purchased by the Allies, who redesigned their aeroplanes to take this lighter but more powerful engine. When the armistice was signed, our factories were at work upon a program that called for 51,000 Liberty Twelves and 8000 Liberty Eights; these were being turned out at the rate of 5000 a month, and this output would soon have been doubled. If the war had lasted until June, 1919, our armies on the western front would have been equipped with at least five times as many aeroplanes as the Germans had ever been able to put into service at one time.

Shipbuilding becomes a Supreme Need. To transport our millions of soldiers to France, and to keep them supplied with food and munitions, called for a great fleet of merchant ships. When we entered the war, German submarines were destroying our vessels and those of the Allies at the rate of 500,000 tons a month. Unless our shipyards could build many new ships and build them quickly, we could not hope to win the war. So Congress authorized the expenditure of two billion dollars for the construction of an immense merchant fleet. One of our great captains of industry, Charles M. Schwab, was finally placed in charge of the work of construction. His task was to create out of almost nothing an immense merchant marine, to multiply our normal production of ships by twenty. This meant that our steel mills had to roll plates on a scale hitherto unknown;

our makers of boilers and turbine engines had to multiply their output by ten; existing shipyards must triple and quadruple their facilities almost overnight; and a new industrial army of half a million men had to be created and taught the shipbuilding trades.

When the United States entered the war, there were only sixty-one shipyards in the entire country. Eighteen months later there were 198 yards, 68 of which were building steel ships. When peace came, these yards had added to our merchant marine 496 new ships, aggregating nearly 3,000,000 tons; while 285 other ships had been launched, and keels laid for 743 more. With the foreign-owned ships that had been seized as a war measure, our government was in control of 1656 vessels, and contracts had been let for 1475 more. Although this program was not fully carried out, the United States constructed one of the largest merchant fleets in the world.

The new ships placed in commission required the services of thousands of seamen. The war found us as destitute of seamen as of shipbuilders, so it became necessary to establish a score of schools for training in seamanship. Several large vessels from the coast service were turned into huge training schools, where boys from the farms and from the great industrial cities learned the arts of splicing ropes and making knots, the use of the compass, and the indispensable duties of the lookout and the watch. No less than our soldiers in France and our mechanics in the shipyards, these men helped to win the World War for democracy.

Coöperation Helps to Win the War. The success of our shipbuilding program was due largely to the hearty coöperation of the workmen in the various plants. Charles M. Schwab, who was popular with the steel workers everywhere, visited each shipyard and urged a speeding up of production. As a result, interesting competitions in riveting took place; the best record was made by John Omir, who drove 12,209 rivets in nine hours. The same enthusiastic support was given in every industry upon which the government made demands. American labor was thoroughly loyal; the workingmen realized that labor had a

vital stake in this war against autocracy. The American Federation of Labor took a patriotic stand upon the question of the hour, and its president, Samuel Gompers, was the trusted adviser of President Wilson on many occasions.

Thousands of American manufacturers, business, and professional men, many of whom were executives of high talent, offered their services to the government without thought of recompense. Just as Charles M. Schwab came forward to speed up the shipbuilding program, so Edward R. Stettinius took charge of the manufacture of munitions, John W. Ryan of aircraft production, Herbert C. Hoover of food production, and Vance McCormick of the difficult problems of the War Trade Board.

© Harris and Ewing.

Charles M. Schwab

Our master shipbuilder. On taking charge, Mr. Schwab said: "I do not want to have any man in the shipyards working for me. I want them all working with me. Nothing is going to be worth while unless we win this war, and every one must do the task to which he is called."

Food, Fuel, and Transportation. Besides providing food for our people at home and for our armies abroad, the United States had to send large supplies to the Allies. So the American farmers were called upon to do their part by raising larger crops than ever before; and the people all over the country were urged to conserve food, to eat less meat, sugar, and wheat, in order that more of these commodities might be sent to Europe. Herbert C. Hoover, who had been in charge of American relief work in Belgium, was placed at the head of the National Food Administration, with powers that practically made him a food dictator. Acting under his direction, State Food Administrators were established in each state, and

local administrators in each county. As a result of the efforts and self-denial of our people, the United States was able to send abroad millions of tons of foodstuffs; and this unceasing stream of supplies from America was a potent factor in the final victory.

The country's supply of coal was taken in charge by the United States Fuel Commission, of which Harry A. Garfield was chairman. This body set prices for the different kinds of coal throughout the United States, and gave orders to the railroads concerning the transportation of fuel. This was necessary in order that the nation's most important needs should be first supplied; above all, coal must reach the seaboard for ships about to sail abroad, and fuel must be supplied to the factories producing war materials. The task of transportation soon proved too much for the railroads of the country, operating under separate management. In spite of their efforts, an immense amount of freight could not be moved, and the whole eastern section of the country faced a fuel famine in the fall of 1917. In order to solve this problem of distribution, the national government finally took charge of all the railway lines of the country. The Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, was appointed Director-General of Railroads. A few months later, the government also took over the entire telegraph, telephone, and radio service of the United States, placing it in charge of the Postmaster-General.

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Herbert C. Hoover

In one sense it is true that food won the war; for without the American farmer, the Allies must have surrendered. "In giving credit for results," wrote Mr. Hoover concerning the Food Administration, "no one will deny the dominant part of the American woman."

Financing the War. Immense sums of money, so large as to be almost beyond conception, were necessary for our vast military preparations. In the first year of the war, our total disbursements reached the startling figure of nineteen billions, or nearly five times the total cost of the Civil War. Of this immense sum, about one third was loaned to our Allies, the remainder being actual expenditures. To raise this revenue, the government resorted to taxation on a large scale, besides borrowing immense sums through the sale of bonds and other securities. The tax law passed on October 3, 1917, was planned to produce two and one half billions of revenue during the ensuing year, while the law of 1918 was to raise six billion dollars. The most important items in point of size were the tax on excess business profits, the tax on incomes, and the taxes on liquor and tobacco. There were also taxes on theater tickets and club dues, on promissory notes and deeds, besides taxes on freight and express shipments, on telegrams, motion pictures, automobiles and tires, together with an increase in postage rates.

Besides the vast revenues raised by taxation, we had to borrow still larger sums; for before the close of the year 1917, the war was costing our government fifty million dollars each day. This was done by selling bonds, war-savings stamps and certificates, to be paid for out of future taxes. Our government wisely decided to sell its bonds directly to the people, through popular subscription; and in order that they might be within reach of all, bonds were offered in denominations as small as $50. Three great Liberty Loans, aggregating ten billion dollars, were made during the first year of the war; a fourth loan of over six billions was made in 1918; and a fifth Victory Loan of nearly five billions in 1919. On each occasion the people subscribed for more bonds than were offered for sale.

As President Wilson pointed out, even the unheard-of money expenditures of the war would be worth while if they resulted in habits of thrift and self-denial among our people. So a war-savings plan was arranged by which even the smallest investors could aid the government with their savings. Thrift

stamps costing twenty-five cents each were sold, sixteen of which, with a few cents additional, could be exchanged for a war-savings certificate. From this source the government was able to raise nearly one billion dollars during the first year of the war.

Soldiers' Insurance instead of Pensions. At the beginning of the Civil War, our government promised pensions to disabled soldiers, and to the families of men who were killed in fighting for the Union. A better plan was worked out when the United States entered the World War, by which the government provided insurance instead of pensions for men in the service. A Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department insured the men at rates somewhat lower than they would pay in time of peace. The government also made a family allowance for each man in the service who had a dependent wife or children.

Disloyal Opposition to the War. Just as during the Civil War the Copperheads had opposed the Union cause, urging a complete surrender to secession, so in the crisis of 1917 many so-called pacifists argued that the United States must not use military force to defend her rights as a nation. These peace-at-any-price men, many of whom were in German pay, said that no matter what outrages Germany committed against us or against common humanity, we must tamely submit. Even when our government declared war, many of them continued their opposition. They held public meetings to indorse the position of a United States Senator who upheld Germany's cause in Congress; they sent out pamphlets urging resistance to the conscription law; they tried to stir up strikes among our workmen, and aided the criminal violence of the organization calling itself the "Industrial Workers of the World." A number of these traitors were finally brought to trial, convicted, and sent to prison.

Telling the People about the War. To give the people reliable information about the war, an official Committee of Public Information was organized, with a well-known newspaper man, George Creel, as chairman. From its headquarters at Washington, this committee published a daily *Official*

Bulletin, which gave out such military information as could properly be published. It also prepared a series of patriotic films, organized an army of public speakers, and issued a series of pamphlets explaining the war and its causes.

Work of the American Red Cross Society. The American Red Cross Society worked hand in hand with the government to bring relief and comforts to the men in the camps and on the battle fields. This organization provided our soldiers with hand-knitted sweaters, socks, and helmets, with comfort kits and Christmas parcels. Thousands of the most skillful surgeons and physicians enlisted for service with our armies abroad. The Red Cross furnished them with the best equipment and supplies, maintained an ambulance service manned by heroic drivers, built hospitals for the wounded men, and did everything possible to alleviate the horrors of war.

Clara Barton

Founder of the Red Cross, from a photograph taken in 1875.

The work of the Red Cross in the World War was a miracle of achievement. This organization enrolled in its membership 30,000,000 Americans, men, women, and children. It collected $300,000,000 through voluntary contributions, and received besides the patriotic services of millions of American women.

Germany Slaughters the Helpless, and Calls it War. The American Red Cross also brought its message of relief and mercy to the destitute people of Belgium and France. In these countries a great part of the population had been left homeless and destitute by the savagery of the German armies. For example, German shells and German ruthlessness had razed one thousand French villages and towns so completely that often even the sites of the former buildings could not be found.

When the German armies made a slight retreat in the spring of 1917, they wantonly destroyed everything in their path which could support the population, even cutting down the fruit trees and poisoning the wells. The able-bodied men of northeastern France and throughout the whole of Belgium were sent to enforced labor in German mines and on German farms.

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Visé, Belgium, after Bombardment by German Batteries

The town where the Germans committed the first atrocities on the civilian population. So great was the havoc wrought in Belgium and northern France that an American private wrote home: "Jen, for some days I have been seeing these French people come home as we take back the country for them day by day. This morning after I left the chaplain, I saw a woman and two children come home to a piece of a wall and a door-step and a door-sill. Jen, it might have been you and little Joe and little Lou. . . ."

Here they were worked at top speed, and almost starved to death at the same time. After they had become unable to work any longer, they were sent back to France to die, along with the old men and young children, whose ages made them unserviceable to the Germans.

In towns near the border, the American Red Cross established

places of refuge where these poor people could rest and recuperate. Here thousands of haggard, helpless little children and aged grandparents arrived during the summer and fall of 1917. So the American Red Cross carried on a fight no less gallant than that of our armies, housing and feeding the families of stricken France and Belgium, saving the babies, battling against tuberculosis, and building up great hospitals. Some idea of their work, and a true picture of German *Kultur* may be had from one day's report of a Red Cross official: "There arrived last week at Evian, where the refugees from France and Belgium are received back into France, a train loaded with Belgian children. There were 680 of them — thin, sickly, from four to twelve years of age — children of men who refused to work for the Germans and of mothers who let their children go rather than to let them starve. They poured off the train, little ones clinging to the older ones, girls all crying, boys trying to cheer. They had come all the long way alone. On the platform were the Red Cross workers to meet them. Those children who could walk at all marched along crying, 'Meat, meat, we are going to have meat.' Their little clawlike hands were significant, but a doctor said, 'We have them in time; a few weeks of proper feeding and they will pull up. Thirty per cent of the older refugees die the first month from exhaustion. The children can and must be saved.'"

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John J. Pershing

Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Our Soldiers Arrive in France. The advance guard of the American army — a division of regulars — reached France in June, 1917. Its leader was General John J. Pershing, a West

Point graduate who had served in the Philippines and in Mexico, and who was now to have supreme command of our armies abroad. Other troops followed as rapidly as they could be equipped and ships found to transport them; and eighteen months after we entered the war, we had two million men overseas. France gave our soldiers a welcome which made every true American proud that we were at last repaying our debt to the land of Lafayette and Rochambeau, the France which had given its blood and treasure to make our country free. Now the young giant of the West was sending its best manhood to fight with France and England and Italy to rescue Europe from the black despotism which hung over the whole world like a pall. For wherever liberty and self-government had developed, whether in France, or in England, or in the distant Orient, or in South America, there the Imperial German government had been its foe. Even in our own fair land, German autocracy had done its utmost to bring on disorder, to violate law, to estrange our people from their true allegiance, and to discredit democracy.

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Raoul Lufbery

This heroic American ace from Wallingford, Connecticut, was a member of the Lafayette Escadrille, a squadron of American aviators enlisted in the French army. This photograph was taken after an official presentation of another decoration. Behind him stands a member of the French Cabinet.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

What Germany Thought of Our Military Strength. Before our entry into the war, the German military leaders did not consider the United States a dangerous enemy. They knew that our army was a very small one, and that we lacked the rifles, machine guns, airships, and other munitions necessary for modern warfare. They had the mistaken notion that American citizens of German descent would not support their own government in case of war with Germany. And in any event, they argued, the United States could not get ready in time. The German Staff expected its veteran divisions to win a final decision on the western front before our raw recruits could become an effective fighting force. But the training camps of America, like those of Great Britain, Canada, and Australia, were to disprove this theory. The fighting at Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, and in the Argonne Forest

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Ferdinand Foch

Appointed Commander in Chief of the Allied armies, March 28, 1918. The greatest military genius of the World War, Marshal Foch's brilliant strategy turned the tide of German invasion into a headlong, disastrous retreat. At the close of the war, he said to the Allied armies: "You have won the greatest battle in history, and have saved the most sacred cause — the liberty of the world."

demonstrated that the American soldier with six months of training was more than a match for the German veteran. Lack of training on the part of our troops was overcome in large measure by native ingenuity, courage, and skill.

Russia Deserts the Allies. When the United States entered the struggle, Germany was at the height of her power, and was planning on a final victory within the next twelve months. Her armies then held enormous tracts of invaded territory. She had crushed Rumania and Serbia, and her iron heel was over Belgium and northern France. Moreover, by the close of 1917, Russia was no longer on the battle line; betrayed by her leaders, she had deserted the Allies. The Russian revolution of March, 1917, drove the czar from his throne, and at first it seemed probable that Russia would become a democratic country, ruled by its people. But soon the extreme socialists, or Bolsheviki, seized control of the government. They dispersed the National Assembly because it was too moderate to suit them, and began a rule more tyrannical and cruel than that of the czar himself. The leaders of this party, Lenine and Trotsky, were reported to be in the pay of Germany; and on seizing power they declared in favor of an immediate peace.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March, 1918. These false leaders completed the betrayal of their country by the shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Russia and the Central Powers. Under its terms, Russia was compelled to surrender five of her western provinces, to recognize the independence of the Ukraine and of Finland, and to cede territory in Asia Minor to Turkey. One good result came from this treaty: all the world at last realized how false the professions of the German leaders really were. They had told the Russians that they would accept the principle of "peace without annexations and without indemnities." Then after her armies were disbanded, they forced Russia to accept a treaty surrendering 56,000,000 of her people, one third of her manufactures, and three fourths of her coal and iron deposits. From these terms we can imagine what a German triumph on the western front would have meant to France and Belgium, and to the cause of civilization itself.

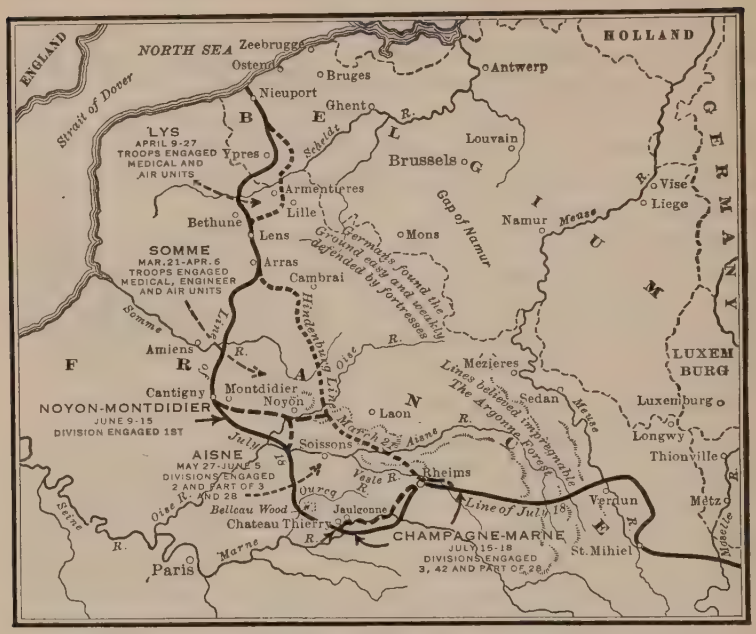
Anarchy in Russia. Germany continued her invasion of Russia even after the Bolsheviki had made their abject surrender. Her troops entered Odessa, capturing the Black Sea fleet, and moved eastward into the Crimea; meantime, other German troops occupied Finland and the Ukraine. Russia's surrender left Rumania in a helpless position, surrounded by hostile powers. Germany now forced Rumania to accept a treaty that practically made her a vassal German state. Rumania ceded her province of Dobrudja to Bulgaria, and promised to pay Germany a huge war indemnity.

The French Legion of Honor

Instituted by Napoleon when First Consul, in May, 1802. Many Americans have been given this decoration, the most prized distinction bestowed by the French Republic for the highest civil and military achievements.

Meantime, the Bolsheviki in Russia indulged in an orgy of bloodshed and violence. Knowing that they represented only a small minority of the population, the Bolsheviki believed that a policy of terrorism was necessary to compel their countrymen to accept their rule. Since the Allied powers would not recognize this government founded on violence, the Bolsheviki did all in their power to injure the Allied cause. They released the German prisoners of war, and permitted the German armies to seize great stores of military supplies which the Allies had sent into Russia.

The Western Front in 1918. Those were anxious months for the Allies when Russia's collapse released more than one million German soldiers for use on the western front. The Allied armies were outnumbered; they had suffered cruel losses in three years of heroic fighting, and only a few American divisions had as yet reached Europe. Meantime, General von Ludendorff, Chief of the German Staff, was planning to crush the Allied armies by a series of hammer blows. Five great drives, or large-scale offensives, were undertaken by the German armies between March 21 and July 18, 1918. These



The Five German Drives of 1918

The ground the Germans gained in each offensive lies between the broken line (the Hindenburg line) of March 21 and the solid line of July 18. Under the name of each drive appear the American units brigaded with the French and English.

were intended to accomplish three objects: (1) to drive a wedge between the British and French armies; (2) to seize the Channel ports; (3) to capture Paris and compel France to sue for peace.

The Germans did not gain any of their objectives, but for long weeks the Allied armies were in deadly peril. This was because they were outnumbered two to one, sometimes even three or four to one, at the point of attack. The German plan of offensive was to make a secret concentration of selected men, called shock troops, at some point; then by a surprise attack to break through the Allied line before reënforcements could be brought up. In meeting these offensives, the Allies were

under two disadvantages. First, they could not know where the Germans would strike until after the offensive began. Then too, the Allied armies were not under a single commander, so that it was difficult to move British troops to the aid of the French, or to bring up French soldiers when the British needed reënforcements.

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Joseph Jacques Joffre

Marshal Joffre, or "Papa" Joffre, as he is affectionately named by the French people, will always have a secure place in history as the commander who saved France in the first battle of the Marne. On his visit to this country in 1917, New York City presented the veteran marshal with a golden miniature of the Statue of Liberty.

The Drive toward Amiens, March, 1918. The first German drive was a thrust toward Amiens, intended to drive a wedge between the British and French forces. So fierce was the onslaught that the Fifth British Army was crushed by sheer weight of numbers, its 48 divisions overwhelmed by 114 of the enemy. For a few critical hours the Allied line was actually pierced, but the gap was closed by General Carey. He rounded up every available man, including laborers, clerks, dismounted cavalry, and a regiment of American engineers; and this scratch army in temporary trenches held back the enemy for six days. However, another drive of equal depth would mean supreme disaster for the Allies. The Germans had advanced for a distance of twenty-five miles, bringing Amiens and the main lateral railway behind the British lines within reach of their artillery.

In this crisis it was determined to place all of the Allied forces under one commander in chief. There was no difficulty in deciding who should fill this important position; for the

French leader, General Ferdinand Foch, was a master of strategy and the greatest military genius of the World War. Foch was the hero of the first battle of the Marne, when France saved the world's civilization from German attack. It was during this battle that he sent his famous dispatch to Marshal Joffre: "The enemy is attacking my flank. My rear is threatened. I am therefore attacking in front."

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Sir Douglas Haig

Succeeded Sir John French as commander in chief of the British armies in France. With forces much smaller than those opposed to him, Field-Marshal Haig held on with true British tenacity, until the day came for the final victorious advance of the Allied armies. Since Wellington, Britain has had no better soldier.

The decision for a unified command had the cordial support of General Pershing and of Secretary of War Baker, who was then in France to learn at first hand about the military situation. They cabled their views to President Wilson, who promptly sent a message to the new commander in chief, congratulating him on his appointment. General Pershing at once went to the headquarters of Marshal Foch, and said: "The American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle. . . . Infantry, artillery, aviation — all that we have — are yours to dispose of as you will." When these words were published, they thrilled all France and all America as well.

The Thrust at the Channel Ports, April, 1918. The second German drive was an attempt to break through the British lines in Flanders and reach the Channel ports of Dunkirk, Calais, and Havre. The invaders gained some three hundred square miles of territory, but they suffered immense losses and

failed to reach the coast. After three weeks of heroic resistance by the British troops, Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig issued his famous order: "Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retiring. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes, and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

Help came to the British army at bay just in time to avert disaster. First to arrive were the French dragoons, covered with dust from their seventy-mile ride. Next came the French infantry in motor lorries, column after column, a winding river of blue pouring in behind the thin lines of khaki. The British had support at last, and the enemy could not pass. Yet the menace was still there, for Rupprecht, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, held twenty-nine divisions in reserve, waiting until the French reënforcements should be called away.

The German Drive against Paris. On May 27 the Germans struck against the French lines opposite Soissons and Rheims, in an attempt to reach Paris. The French reserves had been concentrated in the region south of Amiens, near the junction of the British and French fronts. Hence only light reserves were available when twenty enemy divisions, about 300,000 men, were suddenly hurled at 100,000 French troops holding this part of the line. German tanks and shock troops quickly swept over the front-line trenches, while the artillery hurled gas shells into the area behind the Allied lines, so as to cut off retreat. The invaders crossed the Aisne, they crossed the Vesle, and swept on toward the Marne. The new battle front formed a vast triangle, with its apex pointing toward Paris, only forty-four miles away. Once again, as before that first battle of the Marne, the French capital was in deadly peril. The army that had ravaged Belgium and looted northern France was almost at its gate. Hidden in the forest of Coucy, a "Big Bertha" was hurling shells for a distance of seventy-five miles into the city itself.

American Troops Defend Chateau-Thierry. The Allies faced a situation as grave as during the March offensive. Marshal Foch needed every available man. In this crisis the Third Division of American troops, which had just finished

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Chateau-Thierry

In this town on June 6, 1918, our troops prevented the Germans from crossing the bridge over the Marne. When the great Allied advance began, they charged up this street, unchecked by the German machine guns placed in the clock tower from which this photograph was taken.

its preliminary training in the trenches, was hurried to the Marne. Its motorized machine-gun battalion preceded it, and held the bridgehead at Chateau-Thierry against repeated enemy assaults. Near Jaulgonne, German troops managed to cross the Marne, but the infantry of the Third Division promptly thrust them back again. Meantime our Second

Division, composed of the 5th and 6th Regiments of Marines, and the 9th and 23d Infantry, was rushed up in motor trucks from near Montdidier. This division captured the village of Bouresches, and held its ground against the famous Prussian Guards.

The Marines Capture Belleau Wood. Next came the order to the Marine Brigade to capture Belleau Wood; and in the fight that followed, American marines proved themselves the equal of the British at Ypres, of the Canadians at Mons, of the French themselves at Verdun. Belleau Wood was filled with machine-gun nests, effectively screened by the dense forest; and the German defenders outnumbered our men by at least three or four to one. But the marines never faltered; singly and in little groups they attacked the machine-gun crews, using their rifles, hand-grenades, automatics, and bayonets. For eleven days they pushed their way steadily through the forest, fighting against terrific odds. Companies that went into the battle two hundred and fifty strong dwindled to fifty men, sometimes with only a sergeant left in command. The Germans brought up reserves, and concentrated their artillery fire on the woods, which they were ordered to retake at all costs. They used up three divisions in repeated assaults, but the thin line of marines held fast. By June 24 the last German was driven out of the woods, and 1400 prisoners were on their way to the rear. Soon afterwards the name *Belleau Wood* was changed by an official order of the French to *Bois de la Brigade de Marine* (Wood of the Marine Brigade).

The action of which this fighting formed a part came to an end on July 1, when infantry regiments of the Second Division captured the town of Vaux, on the Metz to Paris road. As a result of this month of bloody fighting, the German rush toward Paris was definitely and finally stopped. It was the heroic French and British armies, aided by the timely arrival of American troops, which brought this about. The American troops did what fresh blood can sometimes accomplish on a football field. Until they came, the Germans had been steadily advancing toward the Allies' goal, attacking first one part of

the line, then another, for gains that brought them nearer and ever nearer to Paris. Then the Americans came on the field, — reserve players, young and inexperienced at the game, but with a firm resolution to hold the line at all costs. Their dauntless spirit put new heart into the gallant French and British armies; the line held, and within a few months the Germans were fighting desperately to defend their own goal.

U. S. Official Photograph.

An American Patrol Advancing North of Verdun

This ruined house at Montfaucon was the observatory of the German Crown Prince during his unsuccessful campaign against Verdun.

The Last German Drives. General von Ludendorff was like a gambler led on by his gains to take more and more chances. After his enormous sacrifice of men, he did not dare give up the offensive and admit his failure. So on June 9 he began a fourth drive between Noyon and Montdidier. This time French reserves were at hand, and the Germans were repulsed with immense losses. The fifth and last German drive came on July 15, when Von Ludendorff hurled seventy divisions against the Rheims front. By this time the Allied lines had been

strengthened by large numbers of American troops. Part of our Forty-second, or Rainbow Division, held the position east of Rheims against every attack; the Twenty-sixth Division captured Torcy; and the Third Division held the bank of the Marne opposite Chateau-Thierry. At this point a large force of

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French Infantry on the Double, Following up the German Retreat

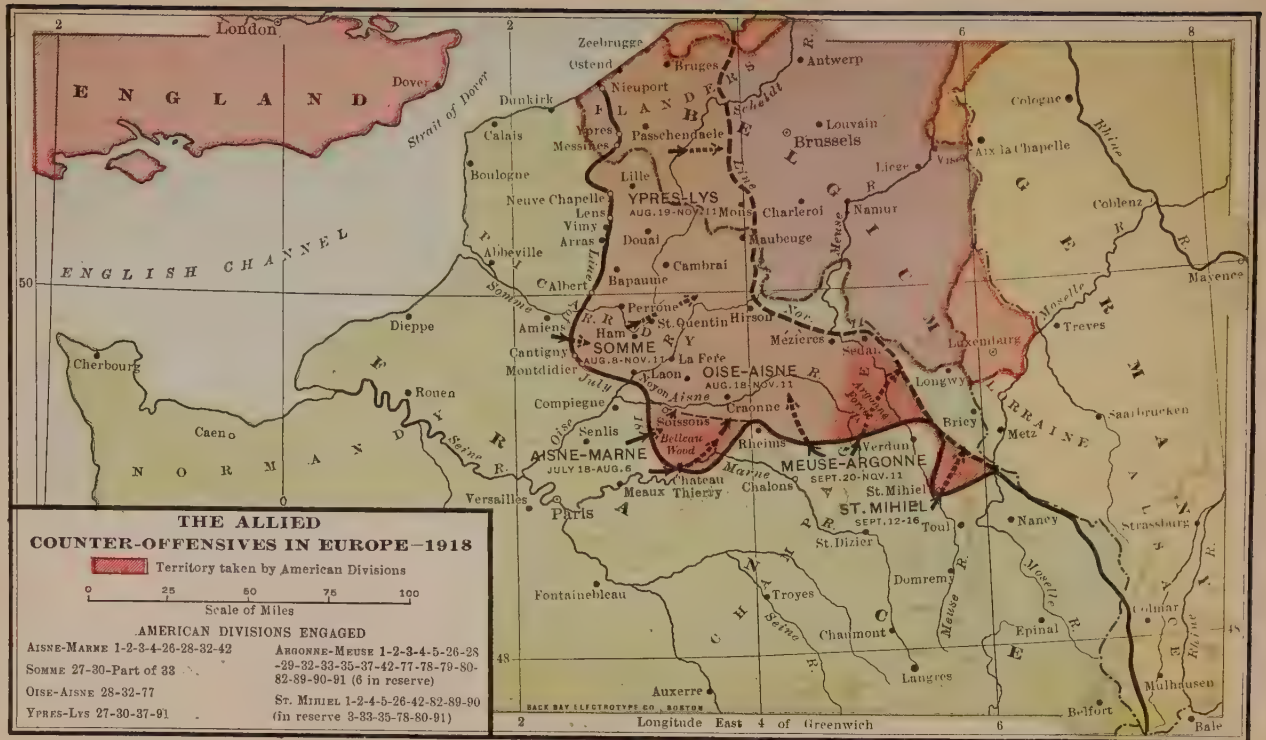
In the first battle of the Marne these heroic *poilus* won immortal fame for themselves and for France. Later, at Verdun, in the longest pitched battle of history, they stood like a cold blue rock against which the German armies were broken and shattered.

German infantry tried to force its way across the river under cover of smoke screens, and supported by powerful artillery. By sacrificing a large number of men, the Germans gained a temporary foothold on the southern bank. The American lines were bent back for a brief space, but it was the recoil of a spring; for immediately afterwards our "doughboys" rushed forward with resistless force, driving the Germans across the river.

The Turning of the Tide, July 18, 1918. This splendid defense at the third battle of the Marne paved the way for the brilliant counter-strokes by which Marshal Foch within a few months brought Germany to her knees. Foch launched his first counter-offensive on July 18, an attack from Chateau-Thierry along a twenty-five mile front between the Marne and the Aisne. The place of honor in this offensive was given to the First and Second Divisions of American troops, coöperating with the famous Moroccan division of the French army. Battling incessantly day and night, the Allied forces pushed the invaders back across the Marne to the Vesle. This successful attack forced the Germans from a position that menaced Paris, and marked the turning of the tide. The offensive had passed from the Germans to the Allies, and under Marshal Foch's bewildering blows, the invading armies were thrust back first at one point, then at another. There were now more than one million American soldiers in France, and their numbers and proven fighting ability made it possible to undertake a vast offensive against the enemy.

American Troops Capture St. Mihiel. Up to this time, American soldiers had been brigaded with British and French troops at different points along the western front. Early in August, 1918, our First Army was organized under the personal command of General Pershing. This army took over the defense of the line running through St. Mihiel to a point opposite Verdun. Early in the war, the Germans had crossed the Meuse River at St. Mihiel, in an unsuccessful effort to encircle Verdun. This made a peculiar hook or salient in their line; the Germans called it a dagger pointed at the heart of eastern France.

Our First Army received permission to attack St. Mihiel on September 12. After four hours of artillery preparation, seven American divisions leaped from their trenches in the early dawn, and moved forward to the assault. Attacking both sides of the salient at once, they broke down the enemy's defenses at all points, capturing village after village, and finally occupied St. Mihiel itself. So rapid was the advance that


THE ALLIED
COUNTER-OFFENSIVES IN EUROPE—1918
Territory taken by American Divisions
0 25 50 75 100
Scale of Miles
AMERICAN DIVISIONS ENGAGED
AISNE-MARNE 1-2-3-4-26-28-32-42
SOMME 27-30-Part of 33
OISE-AISNE 28-32-77
YPRES-LYS 27-30-37-91
ARGONNE-MEUSE 1-2-3-4-5-26-28-29-32-33-35-37-42-77-78-79-80-82-89-90-91 (6 in reserve)
ST. MIHIEL 1-2-4-5-26-42-82-89-90 (in reserve 3-33-35-78-80-91)
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Strait of Dover
London
Dover
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Zeebrugge
Ostend
Bruges
Nieuport
Ypres
Messines
Passchendaele
YPRES-LYS
AUG. 19-NOV. 11
Lille
Neuve Chapelle
Lens
Vimy
Arras
Albeville
Douai
Cambrai
Albert
Bapaume
Perrone
St. Quentin
Hirson
SOMME
AUG. 8-NOV. 11
Ham
Amiens
Cantigny
Montdidier
La Fere
Laon
OISE-AISNE
AUG. 18-NOV. 11
Soissons
Compiegne
Senlis
Dieppe
Cherbourg
Caen
Rouen
NORMANDY
Versailles
Paris
Belleau Wood
AISNE-MARNE
JULY 18-AUG. 6
Rheims
Chateau Thierry
Meaux
Chalons
Verdun
MEUSE-ARGONNE
SEPT. 20-NOV. 11
St. Mihiel
ST. MIHIEL
SEPT. 12-16
Toul
St. Dizier
Fontainebleau
Troyes
Auxerre
Chaumont
Langres
Domremy
Epinal
Nancy
Briey
Metz
Longwy
Sedan
Mezieres
Luxemburg
Treves
Saarbrucken
Strasbourg
Colmar
Mulhausen
Belfort
Bale
Mayence
Coblenz
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
Liege
Visé
Namur
Charleroi
Mons
Maubeuge
Louvain
Brussels
Antwerp
Scheldt R.
Lys R.
Meuse R.
Somme R.
Oise R.
Aisne R.
Marne R.
Seine R.
Moselle R.
Rhine R.
Ourcq R.
Vesle R.
BELGIUM
GERMANY
LORRAINE
ALSACE
CHAMPAGNE
BACK BAY ELECTROTYPE CO., BOSTON
Longitude East of Greenwich
2
4
6
8
48
50

several German cooks found themselves obliged to serve to the Americans hot food that had been prepared for their own men. In this first offensive, the American army captured 16,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, gained its objective, and placed itself in a position to threaten the fortress of Metz. As General Pershing said: "The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with."

© U. S. Official Photograph.

Motor Transport of Infantry to the Front

The 3d Battalion, 39th Regiment, 4th Division, leaving Rimaucourt, Haute Marne, for the Argonne battle front.

A few figures will give some idea of the vast preparations necessary for an attack like that against St. Mihiel. The services of 600,000 men were employed in or behind the lines. One hundred thousand detailed maps and 40,000 photographs were printed and distributed, showing accurately every enemy trench line, gun position, hill, stream, and road within the area of attack. Five thousand miles of telephone wire were laid, connecting 6000 instruments; 4800 automobile trucks were used to carry the men and supplies to the front; while in the rear, 70,000 hospital beds were made ready for the wounded.

More than 1,500,000 shells were fired during the engagement, besides millions of rounds of small-arm ammunition.

Our Campaign in the Argonne Forest. The victory at St. Mihiel brought the American lines close to the outlying forts of Metz, and made possible the next move of our army. This was its splendid advance through the Argonne Forest, the objective being the railroad line running through Sedan and Mézières. The action of our First Army was timed to correspond with that of General Gouraud's Fourth French Army, advancing up the west side of the Argonne as our men pushed up the east side. The two armies were then to unite, cutting the enemy's communications by rail, and crowding the Germans back upon the Ardennes Forest, through which a retreat was almost impossible.

On September 26, American troops fought their way through the barbed wire entanglements and across the shell craters of No Man's Land. Six of the nine initial attacking divisions had never been in a battle before, yet they soon captured the enemy's first line defenses. There were four of these lines in all, running parallel and quite close together, so that they formed one quadruple system of defense. Moreover, the enemy's lines ran through a hilly, densely wooded region, making his position so strong that for four years it had been looked upon as impregnable. Yet between September 26 and November 7, the American army did the impossible; it broke through those four lines and reached Sedan. Our troops advanced rapidly during the first days, but soon the combat settled down into a steady, relentless struggle. The Germans had ample facilities for bringing up reserves, and they used up forty divisions in a vain effort to hold their positions. Our troops advanced against machine guns spitting their hail of bullets, while thousands of cannon belched out shrapnel and explosive shells. One American battalion, advancing beyond its supports, was cut off and entirely surrounded by German troops. Practically without food or water, the members of this heroic "lost battalion" defended themselves for three days against incessant attack, until finally rescued by their advancing comrades.

At last, after six weeks of terrific fighting, the fourth German line was pierced. The American army reached Sedan, twenty-five miles from the point of departure. It had bagged 16,000 prisoners, and gained its objective. General Pershing reported: "We had cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster." The battle of the Meuse-Argonne was the greatest ever fought by American troops, and one of the greatest battles in history. More than 1,000,000 American

U. S. Official Photograph.

Blasting a Way through the Argonne Forest

Battery D, 128th Regiment, Field Artillery, at Les Côtes de Florimont. On specially constructed tracks, this railroad mount followed up the German retreat through No Man's Land.

soldiers took part in the forty-seven days of fighting; our artillery fired 4,200,000 rounds of ammunition — more than that used by the Union forces during the entire Civil War; 16,000 Germans and 3000 machine guns were captured, while our men paid for their splendid victory with 120,000 casualties.

Germany Attempts a Peace Drive, October, 1918. Meantime, the Germans had fared no better elsewhere along the western front. In Flanders the British forces, aided by Belgian and American divisions, had waged a successful offensive.

All of the Belgian coast was recaptured, besides the important French cities of Lens and Lille. In the center, the vaunted Hindenburg line had been pierced; Cambrai, St. Quentin, and Laon were taken. Two American divisions under the command of General Rawlinson took part in the attack at this point. "No troops ever fought more valiantly," said their British commander. "Inexperience cost them more men than they should have lost, but their courage and determination in the face of tremendous obstacles was magnificent." Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, the British commander in chief, gave our men this tribute: "The deeds of the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth American divisions which took Bellecourt and Nauroy, and gallantly sustained the desperate struggle for Bony, will rank with the highest achievements of the war."

The French Croix de Guerre with Palm

With the Hindenburg line broken in the center at Cambrai, and torn from its anchor position on the North Sea, the Germans had no other course except a general retreat from France and Belgium; but a retreat before the victorious Allied armies promised swift disaster. The mailed fist having failed, Germany resolved to try cunning instead. Her government requested President Wilson for an armistice, to be followed by a peace based on the principles announced by him. Realizing that a crushing military defeat was at hand, Germany hoped to negotiate a peace while she still held Belgium and northern France as a pawn. The President replied that he could not entertain any suggestion for an armistice so long as the German armies remained in the countries which they had invaded. Only the military advisers of the American and Allied forces could do this, on terms that would make it impossible for Germany to renew hostilities.

The Surrender of Bulgaria and Turkey. On the Balkan front the Allied line extended from the Adriatic Sea to the Ægean, with headquarters at Saloniki. This line was held

by a mixed force of British, French, Serbians, Greeks, and Italians, under the command of General D'Esperey. In September, 1918, the Allies began one of the most successful campaigns of the war. Advancing up the Vardar Valley, the Allied troops cut the communications between the two Bulgarian armies. The Bulgarians retreated eastward through the hills, abandoning Albania and Serbia. Within two weeks after the offensive began, Bulgaria asked for an armistice, accepted the terms offered, and withdrew from the war.

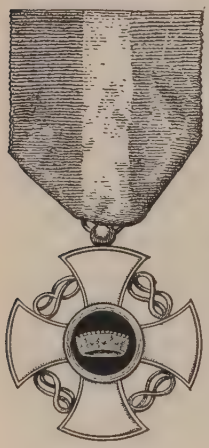
Sergeant York

Alvin C. York was a Tennessee mountaineer gathered in by the draft. While in action in the Argonne offensive, he used his rifle and pistol so effectively that 25 Germans were killed and 132 others surrendered to him in the belief that they were opposed by overwhelming numbers. Sergeant York's feat was one of the greatest individual exploits of the war.

Bulgaria's surrender broke the line of communications between the Central Powers and Turkey. Constantinople, already menaced by the Allied forces at Saloniki, was soon threatened from a new direction. In the Jordan Valley, General Allenby's British army waged one of the most brilliant campaigns of the war. Aided by the Arabs, the British forces destroyed three Turkish armies, occupied Damascus, the capital of Syria, and advanced against Aleppo. Turkey now followed Bulgaria's example and sued for peace. The terms offered and accepted on October 31, 1918, were virtually a complete surrender. Nine days later, British and French destroyers entered the Dardanelles, while British troops took possession of the forts around Constantinople.

The Collapse of Austria, November 3, 1918. A few days more witnessed the collapse of Austria. Her armies in Italy

had won a great success at Caporetto; but in October, 1918, General Diaz began an offensive which practically destroyed the Austrian armies. Their retreat became a rout before the rapid advance of the Italians, who captured 400,000 prisoners and 7000 guns. Austria now begged for an armistice, which was signed on November 3. The terms were more drastic than those imposed upon Bulgaria, for Austria was regarded as the chief accomplice in Germany's crime.



Order of the Crown of Italy

Germany Sues for Peace, November, 1918. Deserted by her allies, and realizing that her armies in France faced a supreme military disaster, Germany was obliged to sue for peace. Her request for an armistice was forwarded by President Wilson to the Interallied Council at Versailles. This body drew up the terms which Marshal Foch submitted to the Germans on November 7. Germany's delegates signed the armistice at five o'clock on the morning of November 11, while Marshal Foch signed on behalf of the Allies. At eleven o'clock, fighting ceased on all fronts, and the World War was practically at an end. Meanwhile, the German Emperor and Crown Prince had fled to Holland, while General von Ludendorff took refuge in Sweden, and Admiral von Tirpitz in Switzerland. One by one, the rulers of the various German states were forced to abdicate their thrones. Germany was swept by a revolution directed against her military leaders.

The armistice terms were drawn with the idea of making it impossible for Germany to renew the war. She agreed to evacuate Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg, as well as the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine. Allied and American troops, advancing into Germany close upon the rear of her retreating armies, were to occupy the Rhine cities of Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, with the bridgeheads on the eastern side of the river. Germany was to evacu-

ate Russia and Rumania, and annul her shameful treaties with those countries. She was obliged to surrender all of her prisoners of war without reciprocal action on the part of the Allies; to give up immense military stores, including 25,000 machine guns and 1700 aeroplanes; to surrender all of her submarines, together with 10 battleships, 6 cruisers, and 50 destroyers.

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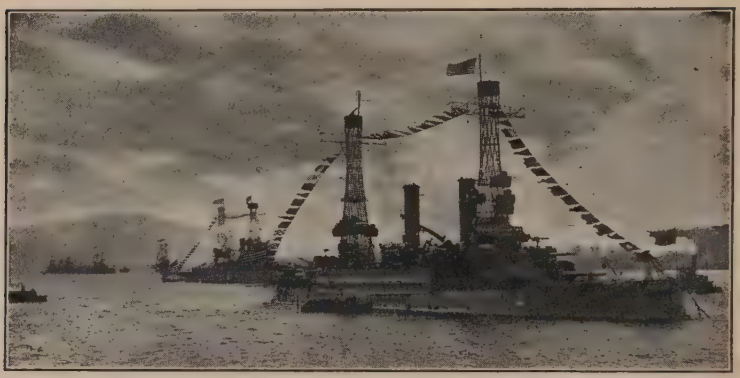
The Army of Occupation at Coblenz

A column of American troops crossing the pontoon bridge over the Rhine to help enforce the conditions of the armistice. Coblenz was a favorite city of the Kaiser, who maintained a palace there.

The armistice was to last for thirty days, but could be extended by mutual consent.

President Wilson's Peace Principles. Following the conclusion of the armistice, preparations were made for a conference at Paris to draw up the treaty of peace. Its terms were to be based upon the fourteen points named by President Wilson in his message to Congress; for these had been accepted by the Allies and by Germany as embodying the principles of a just peace. These points, briefly stated, were as follows:



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The Return of the Fleet

The first ships of the navy to return after the armistice, photographed as they lay at anchor in the Hudson River.

(1) Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.

(2) Freedom of the seas, in peace and war.

(3) Equality of trade conditions.

(4) Reduction of armaments.

(5) Adjustment of colonial claims with reference to the wishes of the governed population.

(6) Evacuation of all Russian territory.

(7) Evacuation and restoration of Belgium.

(8) Evacuation of French territory, restoration of Alsace-Lorraine.

(9) Readjustment of Italy's frontiers along lines of nationality.

(10) Independence and self-government for the different peoples of Austria-Hungary.

(11) Independence of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro.

(12) Relinquishment of Turkish control over non-Turkish populations.

(13) Erection of an independent Polish state, with free and secure access to the sea.

(14) A League of Nations to guarantee independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Our Troops Return Home. Soon after the signing of the armistice, the United States began to demobilize the largest army it had ever called into existence. Within nine months all of the men had been brought back to the United States, except our comparatively small army of occupation. The home-coming of the troops was the signal for enthusiastic receptions and public demonstrations from one end of the country to the other. The honor was deserved; for our soldiers had fought gallantly, and had helped to win the most stupendous conflict of history.

Another great welcome was that given to the Atlantic Fleet, which for two years had guarded the seas under Admiral Sims and Rear Admiral Mayo. On April 14, 1919, the fleet steamed in stately column into New York Harbor and up the Hudson. There were 104 ships, including twelve super-dreadnoughts, seventy destroyers, and ten submarines. This was only a part of the great navy which, like our army, had done its full part in winning the final victory for democracy.

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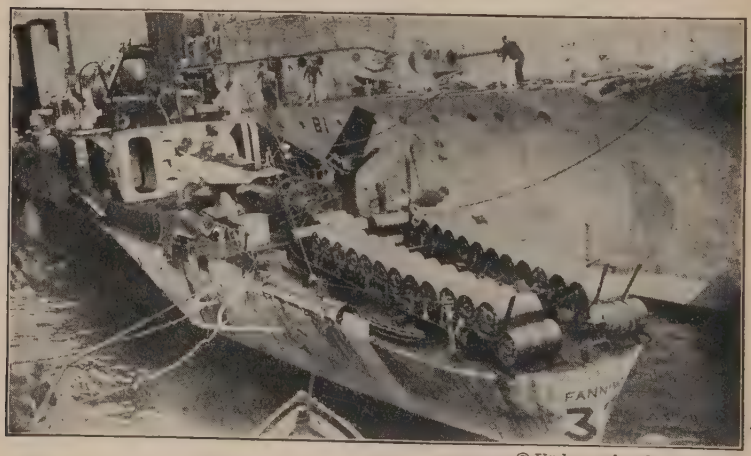

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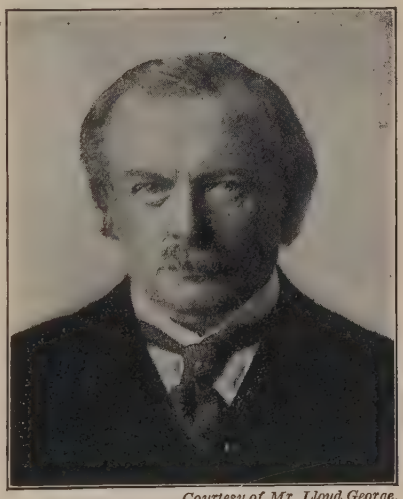
The Terror of the Submarine

The U. S. Destroyer *Fanning*, with depth bombs stored in run-ways on the after-deck. These can be instantly released and dropped over the stern.

CHAPTER XLVIII

DEMOCRACY'S VICTORY AND ITS MEANING

The Peace Conference. The greatest Peace Congress in all history assembled at Paris on January 18, 1919. All of the nations which had declared war against Germany were represented by delegates; and President Wilson himself headed the delegation from the United States. It was decided that the five great Powers — the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan — should be represented by five delegates each; while other countries were to send one or two delegates, according to their importance. Most of the decisions of the Congress were made by the Council of Four, consisting of President Wilson, and Premiers Lloyd George of Great Britain, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy. Delegates from the other Allied nations took part in the conference whenever questions came up that directly concerned their own countries.



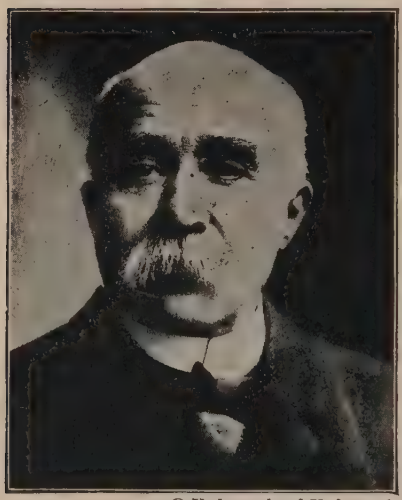
Courtesy of Mr. Lloyd George.

David Lloyd George

The greatest British Premier since William Pitt; and like Pitt, Lloyd George saved the empire. This fearless, outspoken Welshman headed the coalition cabinet which carried Great Britain through the greatest struggle of her history to victory.

On the first day of the session, Premier Clemenceau was unanimously elected presiding officer. Long weeks of dis-

cussion followed, during which the Congress attempted to reconcile conflicting national claims, and to settle on a just basis the difficult problems arising from the war. Above all, the Peace Congress aimed to accomplish three great objects:



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Georges Clemenceau

As Premier of France, Clemenceau, nicknamed the "Tiger," never faltered, even in her darkest hour. His magnetic leadership inspired his countrymen to make their long, heroic stand in defense of the liberty of France and the freedom of the world.

(1) To promote coöperation among nations, and to remove the menace of future wars.

(2) To compel Germany to make reparation for the immense losses of life and property due to her attempt at military conquest.

(3) To recognize and safeguard the principle of nationality, by giving political and economic freedom to peoples that were being ruled against their will by other nations.

The League of Nations. The Congress agreed that a League of Nations was necessary to remove the menace of war which for centuries had hung over Europe like a pall. The delegates shared the opinion of President Wilson, who said, "The arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation, unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civilized world." Accordingly, a committee of fifteen delegates, with President Wilson as chairman, was appointed to work out a plan for a League of Nations.

President Wilson presented the revised constitution or covenant for the League on April 28, 1919. The preamble states the objects for which the League was formed, namely, to promote coöperation, peace, and security among nations. Thirty-two countries were included as original members, while

thirteen others were invited to join. Germany and her allies were not included, but may be admitted later when they have learned to respect treaties and international law. The powers of the League are vested in an Assembly and a Council. The Assembly is the larger body; in it each member nation is represented, and casts one vote. The Council consists of nine members, one representative from each of the five great powers,—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan; together with four others selected from time to time by the Assembly. The permanent seat of the League is at Geneva, Switzerland.

Rights and Duties of Members. Members of the League assume certain obligations toward one another, as follows:

(1) To reduce their armies and navies as suggested by the Council, but only with their own consent.

(2) To exchange full information as to military and naval programs.

(3) To respect the territorial and personal independence of each member of the League, and to guarantee each member against foreign aggression.

(4) To submit all international disputes either to arbitration, or to judicial inquiry by the Council of the League. If the disputing nations choose arbitration, a peaceful settlement follows as a matter of course. If they prefer the method of judicial inquiry, the League has six months in which to file its report. The covenant stipulates that there shall be no war until at least three months after this report is filed, so that a total delay of nine months is insured before resort can be made to military action.

(5) To regard a country which violates the covenant as having committed an act of war against the League. Its members will then break off economic and other relations with the guilty state, and may send troops against it.

(6) To submit all new treaties to the Secretary General of the League for publication.

By a special clause it is provided that nothing in the covenant shall affect the Monroe Doctrine, or similar understandings

in the interests of peace. The former German colonies, as well as the subject races of the Ottoman Empire, are hereafter to be governed by countries appointed by the League to act as guardians or mandataries. This plan is intended to emphasize the principle of responsibility in dealing with backward and uncivilized peoples. Members of the League also agree to endeavor to secure fair and humane treatment of labor in

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Germany Learns Her Fate at Versailles

The Peace Conference assembled in the great hall of the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles. The tables were arranged in the form of a huge horseshoe, with seats for the sixty-nine delegates. Premier Clemenceau as President of the Conference is announcing the Allied peace terms to the Germans, who are at the extreme left in the picture.

all countries; to aid in suppressing the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; and to encourage and promote the work of the Red Cross.

Germany Receives the Peace Terms. After nearly four months of discussion, the treaty of peace was completed. It was presented to the German delegates on May 7, 1919, — the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The conference between the representatives of the Allies and the German delegates took place in the dining hall of the Trianon

Palace Hotel at Versailles. Premier Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, addressed the Germans as follows:

"This is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited representatives of all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our account.

"You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace. We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will have every facility to examine these conditions, and the time necessary for it. You will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this second Treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace shall be a lasting one."

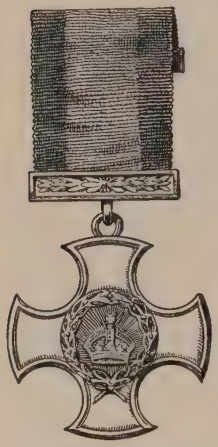
Copies of the treaty were then handed to the German envoys, who were asked whether they had anything to say. Without rising from his seat, their spokesman read a speech in which he admitted Germany's utter defeat, but tried to disclaim her responsibility for the origin of the war, and for the atrocities she had committed during its progress. "Crimes in war may not be excusable," said he, "but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defense of national existence, and passions are aroused which make the conscience of peoples blunt." Such was the German excuse for plunging the world into a war that cost eight million lives!

Aims of the Peace Treaty. The terms offered to Germany provided the basis of a just and durable peace. The treaty aimed to secure four great objects: first, the future peace of the world; second, the permanent destruction of German militarism; third, reparation for the damage wrought by Germany's invading armies and by her lawless submarines; fourth, freedom for the subject peoples held unwillingly under the German yoke.

(1) *Security for the world's peace.* An earnest attempt was made to safeguard the world's peace by establishing a League of Nations, the covenant of which forms the first part of the

treaty. France was refused the boundary of the Rhine River, which General Foch declared to be her only sure barrier against German invasion. Instead, it was agreed that the United States and Great Britain should pledge their aid to France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany. This agreement, however, was not ratified by the United States Senate.

(2) *Overthrow of German militarism.* The treaty drew the fangs from Prussian militarism. It made a safe neighbor out of the nation which aimed to dominate the world by military might, by ruthless conquest, by the violation of treaties and international law. Germany's vast military framework, built up in forty years of preparation for world conquest, was completely shattered. She was required to abolish conscription; her army was restricted to 100,000 men, made up of volunteers who enlist for a term of twelve years; and she was obliged to raze all forts and military works within a zone thirty-one miles east of the Rhine, so as to make it difficult for her to launch new invasions toward the west.



The English Distinguished Service Order

On the sea, Germany became powerless for harm. Before the war she claimed a naval strength second only to that of Great Britain. The treaty reduced her navy to six battleships, six cruisers, and twelve torpedo boats, with a personnel of 25,000 men. Germany was compelled to dismantle Heligoland, her island fortress guarding the Kiel Canal; she had to open that canal to all nations, and surrender her fourteen ocean cables. Germany was required to sweep up the mines in the North and Baltic seas; she was not permitted to have submarines or war aircraft; and she agreed to discontinue the import, export, and production of practically all war materials.

(3) *Reparation.* Germany accepted full responsibility for the damage to other countries from a war resulting, as she was required to admit, from her own aggression. She promised to

pay for the vast destruction wrought by her armies in invaded territory, especially in Belgium and northern France. In the devastated area of France, 1650 communes were blotted out of existence, 630,000 houses were completely or partially destroyed, together with 21,000 factories, 5,000 miles of railway, 5,000 bridges, and practically all the coal mines. For this terrible havoc, Germany promised to pay the Allies the sum of $33,000,000,000 in gold. Germany has delivered bonds for this sum, the debt being secured by her entire revenues and assets. These bonds are to be paid in annual installments of $500,000,000, besides an additional annual payment equal to 26 per cent of the value of Germany's exports.

The Belgian Croix de Guerre

The losses inflicted upon Allied shipping by Germany's submarines were to be in part repaid by the surrender of all German merchant vessels of over 1600 tons, and by her promise to build new ships for the Allies. In other words, Germany was required to replace about 3,000,000 tons of the 14,000,000 tons of shipping that she had destroyed. Germany agreed to help rebuild the devastated regions of France and Belgium. She promised to restore the machinery, works of art, and other goods stolen by her invading armies, or pay for them in money. The coal mines of the Saar Basin became the property of France, as compensation for the wanton destruction of the mines in northern France. Allied troops were to occupy the German territory lying between the Rhine and the French and Belgian borders for a period of fifteen years; but this occupation is to be reduced at the end of each five-year period, if Germany fulfills her obligations.

(4) *Freedom for subject peoples.* In Europe, Germany gave up about 36,000 square miles of territory won by former conquests, and inhabited chiefly by people who have never wished to be German. Thus she ceded Alsace-Lorraine to France,

thereby righting her theft of those provinces in 1871. She ceded to Belgium two small districts (380 square miles) between Luxemburg and Holland. Poland received most of Posen and West Prussia, with small portions of Silesia and East Prussia. Danzig on the Baltic, with about 700 square miles of surrounding territory, was taken from Germany and internationalized; that is, placed under the guardianship of the League of Nations, so as to give Poland access to the Baltic Sea. Memel, the chief port for Lithuania, was likewise ceded to the Allied powers. The Saar Basin, a small district rich in coal deposits, is to be under international control for fifteen years; at the end of this period, its inhabitants are to decide by vote between Germany and France. As the result of a plebiscite held in 1920, Denmark received the northern portion of Schleswig, thus regaining part of her territory annexed by Germany in 1864.

Thus Germany lost territory in Europe about equal in size to the state of Indiana. She became in area smaller than Spain; and, in addition, East Prussia is separated from the rest of Germany by the Polish "corridor," a strip of territory connecting Poland with the Baltic. But her most serious loss is that of raw materials. With the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine, Germany lost five sevenths of her iron ore, together with much of her potash and coal; while the territory ceded to Poland deprived her of additional iron and coal deposits.

Outside of Europe, Germany gave up all territorial rights, including her colonies in Africa, her islands in the Pacific Ocean, and Kiaochow in China, — in all, one million square miles of territory. Germany had made a complete failure of her attempt to govern colonies; for she showed toward the partly civilized peoples under her rule the same arrogance and brutality that characterized her policy throughout the World War. The League of Nations has general charge of the former German colonies, but has appointed a particular nation to administer each group. Great Britain and the Union of South Africa govern most of Germany's former possessions in Africa. Japan received the islands north of the equator, besides Kiaochow, which she has since surrendered to China. Australia

governs Germany's former islands south of the equator, except her Samoan islands, which went to New Zealand.

There are several other provisions of the treaty which are only second in importance to those already described. Germany recognized the independence of Poland, of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and of the Baltic states formerly part of Russia. She accepted in advance whatever arrangements were made with her former allies, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. She annulled the treaties imposed by her armies upon Russia and Rumania. Finally, Germany promised to surrender for trial her military leaders responsible for atrocities and acts committed in violation of the customs of war. She also agreed to the trial of her former emperor, a provision ineffectual because of Holland's refusal to surrender the fugitive.

These terms, though severe, were just. The World War had cost the lives of eight million men, lives given in vain unless effective measures were taken to destroy the spirit of militarism which had caused the war. History records no conflict comparable with the World War in loss of life, in vast destruction of property, in enormous expenditure of money. The close of the conflict found practically every nation facing its own difficult problems of reconstruction; for Europe's four years of warfare had all but annihilated the civilization of centuries.

The Attitude of Germany. When the peace terms were published, a storm of protest and denunciation swept over Germany. Chancellor Scheidemann, in his speech before the National Assembly at Weimar, described the treaty as a dreadful document. As a matter of fact, when Germany signed the armistice, she accepted the principle of full reparation. Later, however, some German leaders and newspapers loudly proclaimed that it was beyond Germany's power to make adequate reparation. To do this, said Scheidemann, would be to make an enormous jail of Germany, in which 60,000,000 persons would have to labor for the victors in the war. President Wilson was the target for venomous attacks by the German press. It was asserted that the President had abandoned his fourteen peace principles, and that Germany would never have agreed

to the armistice had she anticipated these terms of peace. These hypocritical protests deceived no one outside of Germany. That country had accepted the armistice in order to avoid the greatest military collapse in history; and the armistice itself distinctly sets forth the principles afterwards carried out in the peace treaty. The discussion of the peace

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Surrender of the German High Seas Fleet

No navy in history ever made so ignominious a surrender. The British Grand Fleet, accompanied by five American battleships and three French cruisers, steamed from its Scottish base to accept the surrender on November 21, 1918. The Grand Fleet was arranged in two single lines, six miles apart, so formed as to enable the surrendering fleet to come up between them.

terms by the German press and public leaders showed that Germany was not repentant for having sinned, but only regretful for having failed.

The German battleships surrendered in accordance with the armistice had been interned at Scapa Flow, north of Scotland. These ships were scuttled on June 21 by the German crews left in charge, acting under orders from the German

admiral, and in direct violation of the armistice terms. This act completed the infamy of the German navy. It made war on unarmed passenger and merchant ships, surrendered without a fight, and then treacherously sank the surrendered property.

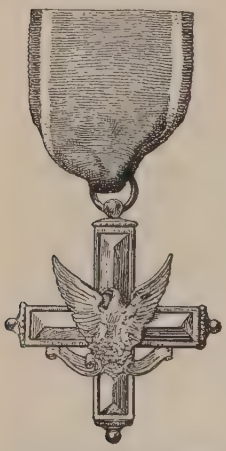
Signing the Treaty of Peace, June 28, 1919. Germany submitted her counter-proposals on May 29. She objected to nearly all of the terms proposed, refused all cessions of territory, asked immediate admission to the League of Nations, and demanded that the Allies evacuate German territory within four months after signing the treaty. After some interchange of notes, Germany was informed that the terms must be accepted within a given time; meanwhile Marshal Foch was instructed to hold his armies ready to advance. Under these circumstances, the German National Assembly voted to accept the treaty. The ceremony of signing took place at Versailles on June 28, 1919. An unusual feature on this occasion was the presence, within the space reserved for the high officials of the conference, of forty-five enlisted men from the French, British, and American armies. This was in recognition of the fact that it was the enlisted men of the world's democracies who were the real artisans of the new world order.

The Treaty with Austria. While the Germans were debating their peace terms, the Peace Conference received the Austrian delegates at St. Germain (June 2, 1919). They represented the Republic of Austria; for the old Austro-Hungarian empire had ceased to exist. With the defeat of the Austrian armies in Italy, the empire itself broke into fragments. Hungary proclaimed its independence; the Poles in Galicia joined with their brethren in Russia; the Czechs of Austria united with the Slovaks of Hungary to form a new republic; the Slovenes and Croats joined with the Serbs toward the south; Italy took over her coveted lands along the Adriatic coast; and Rumania occupied Transylvania, an Austrian province peopled chiefly by Rumanians.

Thus the Austro-Hungarian empire had already broken up into several independent states; and the treaty of St. Germain required Austria to recognize and accept this situation.

Before the World War, the Germans of Austria and the Magyars of Hungary combined to rule an empire of 260,000 square miles, with a population of 50,000,000. To-day Austria has a territory of approximately 25,000 square miles, with 7,500,000 people; while Hungary has about the same area and population.

The Bolshevist Tyranny in Russia. On coming into power in Russia, the Bolsheviki, or extreme Socialists, inaugurated a rule of violence and bloodshed. They abolished even the most primitive forms of justice, and thousands of persons suspected of being unfriendly to Bolshevism were shot or hanged without the semblance of a trial. Every newspaper which did not favor the cause was suppressed; the right of holding public meetings was abolished; and the Constituent Assembly, an anti-Bolshevist body elected by the Russian people, was forcibly dissolved.



The United States Distinguished Service Cross

The Bolsheviki would not fight against the Germans, to whom they had surrendered one third of Russia's territory; but they were ready to fight and plunder their own countrymen. The most savage blows were aimed at the educated classes, at the men who had accumulated property, or who were managing industries. The Bolsheviki seized all the mills, stores, and factories throughout Russia, without any compensation to the owners; so that private enterprise was everywhere destroyed. Having removed from industry its intelligent directing force, as represented by the owners and managers, the Bolsheviki themselves undertook to operate the factories, aided by committees of workmen.

It was soon found that factories operated by committees could not pay expenses. In the metal trades, in the linen, woolen, and cotton mills, and in the coal mines, production shrank more than 50 per cent. As a result of unemployment and disease, the population of Petrograd decreased from 2,125,-

000 to 650,000. Throughout the country as a whole, conditions were almost as bad. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost from starvation and disease, so that in the end the Bolshevist tyranny cost Russia more lives than the war itself. Thus the silly economic theories of the Bolsheviki brought ruin on the workmen and peasants, as well as on the wealthier classes. To-day Russia is facing national bankruptcy, the only sure source of income being the government printing presses, which have flooded the country with worthless paper money.

The Effort to Give Russia Majority Rule. Not all of Russia was cowed by the Red Terror. Siberia, the Don region, and the Caucasus declared their independence, and fought for it. British and French marines were landed at Murmansk and Archangel to aid these independent Russians, and to prevent the Bolsheviki from seizing immense military stores belonging to the Allies. A joint force of Japanese, British, French, and Americans afterwards occupied Vladivostok, the eastern terminal of the Siberian railroad. In a campaign to clear the country of Bolshevist troops, this force advanced for many miles along the line of the railroad. It was aided by a force of Czecho-Slovaks, soldiers who had surrendered to the Russians in order to escape further service in the Austrian armies. But the Allied troops in Russia were too many for peace, and too few for war. They were gradually withdrawn, since it was recognized that Russia must work out her own salvation.

Attempts to Spread Bolshevism. Not the least among the crimes of the Bolshevist leaders was their attempt to undermine the governments of other countries, so as to bring on a universal revolution. To accomplish this, they relied upon bomb outrages, the destruction of factories and material, and the stirring up everywhere of class hatred. Lenine succeeded in introducing Bolshevism into Hungary, but he failed in Switzerland owing to the energetic action of the Swiss government. An attempt was also made to undermine our own government by the spread of Bolshevist doctrines in the United States. But the American Federation of Labor dealt a severe blow to these agitators when its national convention voted against

the proposed general strike, and against other revolutionary schemes. American labor realizes what the Bolsheviki fail to appreciate, — that the same blow which destroys capital, destroys trade and industry as well. Bolshevist doctrines will never become popular in the United States. Our government is founded on the will of the majority, as embodied in the constitution and the laws. Bolshevism stands for the tyranny of the few, and relies for its existence upon bloodshed and violence.

Results of the War. The consequences of the World War are many and far-reaching; they may determine the course of our own history, as well as that of Europe, for ages to come. Some of these consequences are apparent to-day, while others will only be revealed with the lapse of years. One of the outstanding results was the tremendous loss of life and property. The World War cost the lives of 7,485,000 soldiers. Of this number the Allies lost 4,735,000, while the death toll of the Central Powers was 2,750,000. The total number of wounded exceeded 18,000,000, about one third of whom were almost totally disabled. The United States lost 50,000 men killed in battle, while 206,000 were wounded, and 57,000 died from disease.

The money cost of the war is estimated at $336,000,000,000. Of this sum, $186,000,000,000 represents direct outlay in war expenditures; while the indirect cost in diminished trade and financial disturbance is estimated at $150,000,000,000. The war cost the United States about $24,000,000,000, or enough to pay all the expenditures of our national government from 1791 to the present day. In addition to this outlay, the United States loaned to the Allies about $10,000,000,000.

International Law and Morality Vindicated. The principle of guilt and reparation for any nation starting an unprovoked war was established. It is settled that no nation, however strong, may tear up treaties, throttle international law, wage an inhuman war of conquest, and then go unpunished. Another immediate result of the war was the creation of the League of Nations, which may prove an important factor in securing international peace and coöperation.

Europe after
The World War
ARCTIC
ICELAND
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
OUTER HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
SCOTLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Christiania
Skager Rack
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Belfast
ULSTER
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
WALES
ENGLAND
Queenstown
London
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
Elbe
Hamburg
Stettin
Berlin
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BELGIUM
Brussels
Weimaro
GERMANY
Prague
CZECHOSL
Brest
Havre
Seine
Paris
LUX.
Metz
Nantes
Loire
Rhine
Danube
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Berne
SWITZ.
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Lyons
Milan
Trieste
Venice
Genoa
Fiume
YUGO
Marseilles
MONACO
ANDORRA
Valladolid
Zara
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
CORSICA
Adriatic
Rome
ITALY
Tyrrhenian Sea
Naples
Cadiz
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palermo
SICILY
Ionian Sea
Algiers
Tunis
AFRICA
MALTA
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300

32°
40°
48°
56°
64°
72°
OCEAN
Murmansk
Kola
Tornea
Kem
Archangel
Dvina
FINLAND
60°
Helsingfors
Petrograd
Vologda
Perm
Kama
Reval
ESTHONIA
Volga
Kazan
Ufa
Riga
Nishni Novgorod
Moscow
RUSSIA
Samara
Orenburg
52°
Tula
Ural
Brest Litovsk
Kursk
Kharkov
Kiev
Dnieper
Don
Volga
Astrakhan
UKRAINE
Rostov
Dniester
Odessa
Sea of Azov
CASPIAN SEA
44°
RUMANIA
Sebastopol
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
Danube
Tiflis
Kura
Baku
Sofia
BULGARIA
Batum
Constantinople
Bosporus
ARMENIA
Erzerum
Tabriz
Saloniki
Angora
ZONE OF THE STRAITS
TURKEY
Bitlis
36°
Smyrna
Aegean Sea
Adana
PERSIA
Adalia
Aleppo
Tigris
Euphrates
SYRIA
Bagdad
MESOPOTAMIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
24°
32°
40°
48°

A New Map of Europe. The new independent countries now appearing on the map of Europe were formerly held in subjection by stronger states. Their freedom was the direct result of democracy's triumph in the World War, which for them was a war of liberation. Among these new states are:

(1) Poland, one of the oldest countries of Europe, which many years ago was partitioned among Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and so disappeared from the map. Its people have always longed for freedom. The new Polish Republic includes a considerable part of Poland's ancient territory, and with Danzig under international control, has an outlet on the Baltic Sea.

(2) The Czechoslovak Republic includes the territory of the Czechs, Slovaks, and Moravians, Slavic peoples formerly under the rule of Austria-Hungary.

(3) Jugoslavia, or the new South-Slav kingdom, includes Serbia and Montenegro, together with Bosnia, Herzegovina, and other districts ceded by Austria-Hungary.

(4) The Ukraine, or southwestern part of old Russia. The loss of this region was a severe blow to Russia, for it comprises nearly 300,000 square miles of fertile territory, with a population of 40,000,000. The people of the Ukraine refused to accept the Bolshevist tyranny; they set up their own government, and succeeded in maintaining their independence.

(5) Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, countries on the Baltic Sea which formerly were part of Russia. These states declared their independence of Bolshevist Russia, and have since been recognized as independent powers. As a result, Russia is now almost entirely cut off from access to the Baltic Sea.

(6) The new Italy. The boundaries of Italy are extended to include the lands peopled largely by Italians, but formerly held by Austria-Hungary. Italy entered the war in order to liberate the Italians in Trentino, Istria, and Dalmatia. The Peace Conference awarded part of these districts to her, but reserved for Jugoslavia certain areas peopled chiefly by Slavs. The war has given Italy her natural frontiers, the Alps, which from the time of the Romans have served as a barrier against

Germanic invasion. Italy dominates the Adriatic Sea, on the eastern shore of which she gained Istria with the important port of Trieste, and the district of Zara. Fiume was organized as an independent state as the result of a treaty between Italy and Jugo-Slavia.

(7) The Ottoman Empire, like that of Austria and Russia, was shattered as a result of the war. Except for Constantinople and a small surrounding area, Turkey lost all of her territory in Europe. The "Zone of the Straits" was placed under the guardianship of the Allies, so that the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosporus are open to all vessels. Turkey ceded Smyrna and Thrace to Greece; France received the mandate for Syria, Great Britain the mandate for Palestine and Mesopotamia; the Hedjaz became an independent Arab state; and finally, Turkey recognized the French protectorate over Tunis and Morocco, and the Italian rule over Tripoli; and she renounced all claim to Egypt and Cyprus.

Closer Relations with the World's Democracies. It was not only to protect our own democracy, but also to secure the right of self-government for all peoples, that the United States entered the war. Like Crusaders of old, America's men went forth to take their part in the world struggle of democracy and right against militarism and evil. The victory was not an American victory; it was a world victory, in which our country gave great and probably indispensable aid in a supreme crisis. But the victory could never have been won without the gallant armies of our allies, which fought the long stern fight for four years. The sacrifices made in common by the democracies of the world have brought them into closer relationship than ever before. We have learned that the people of Great Britain, France, and Italy are inspired by the same ideals as those of our own great Republic. We can never go back to our old policy of indifference toward European affairs; and in fact, we renounced our policy of isolation twenty years ago, when Dewey's guns sank the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. We are interested in the future welfare of every country in Europe, and especially in its democracies.

Some of the German newspapers and public leaders have openly announced that Germany signed the treaty under compulsion, and that she will regard it as only a scrap of paper. Thus the war has not wholly changed Germany's attitude toward her international obligations, for in 1914 she held her solemn treaty concerning Belgium as only another scrap of paper. Hence the outstanding lesson of the war is, that the United States must coöperate as closely as possible with France, Great Britain, and Italy. The decisions of the peace treaty will prove of value only in so far as they are upheld by the powers which won the victory and dictated the peace.

Three great powers of the world are to-day the guarantors that democracy shall not again be assailed by military hordes bent on conquest. This is the reason why the United States and Great Britain were asked to promise their assistance if France should be again wantonly attacked by Germany. For unless the German people show a different spirit, France must continue to hold the gate of the world's civilization, just as she did by her heroic defense at the Marne. Germany will pause long before repeating her attack if she knows that back of the heroic French *poilus*, the first line of defense, stand the English tommies and the American doughboys.

Closer Relations between the Two Americas. The World War linked the two Americas in friendship and trade more closely than years of peace had ever accomplished. Our determined stand for the right of smaller nations to govern themselves had its effect on Latin-America. As a result, much of the old distrust and jealousy toward the United States disappeared. Of the twenty independent republics in Latin-America, thirteen sided with the United States and the Allies, either by severing diplomatic relations with Germany, or by declaring war. The others remained officially neutral, but with the possible exception of Mexico, none of them could be regarded as unfriendly.

Before the war, millions of dollars' worth of trade that should have been carried on between the two Americas went to Europe. In 1914 our trade with Latin-America was $750,000,000; three years later it was $1,750,000,000, an increase of one bil-

lion dollars. This gain was made with limited shipping facilities, and with the imperious demand for supplies in Europe; so that with peace restored, the trade with our southern neighbors should continue to grow. This means that the people of the United States must pay more attention to Latin-America, to the study of its language, customs, and institutions. We should continue and extend our credit and banking institutions in South America, expand our passenger and freight facilities,

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The Type of Navy Airplane to Make the First Trans-Oceanic Flight, May, 1919

The N-C 1 being moored to a buoy in Trepassy Bay, Newfoundland. Her sister-ship, the N-C 4, with Lieutenant-Commander A. C. Read in command, started on May 16, 1919, reached the Azores May 18, and with numerous delays, finally landed at Plymouth, England, May 31.

and neglect no opportunity to cultivate the friendship and good will of our neighbors.

A Clearer Conception of Our National Problems. The war showed us some of our national problems in a new, clear light. Americanization of a host of aliens within our borders, restriction of immigration, lessening of unemployment, intelligent dealing with discontent which might turn to something worse, stern repression of anarchists and others seeking to undermine our institutions — these were some of the problems of the new reconstruction period. Fortunately, our task of

reconstruction did not involve the rebuilding of immense devastated areas, as in France and Belgium. But it did mean the problem of restoring more than two million men to industrial life, so that they should be assured of productive employment. It meant, too, the reëducating, at national expense, of those who had received some injury unfitting them for their previous occupations.

Opposition to the League of Nations. On his return from Europe, President Wilson laid the Treaty of Versailles before

Modern Dayton-Wright Airplane

the United States Senate (July 10, 1919). It soon became evident that the Senate would not ratify the treaty unless several important reservations were included. It was argued that Article X of the League of Nations covenant might involve the United States in foreign war, even against the will of our own people. Many senators insisted upon a clear and definite statement that certain matters of national policy were not to be in any way subject to the decision of the League of Nations. For example, they demanded that the United States should

have the sole and exclusive right to interpret the Monroe Doctrine, and should reserve to itself the decision of all domestic and political questions, including immigration and the tariff. Finally, the awarding of Shantung to Japan instead of to China, its rightful owner, was condemned as an act of injustice.

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Warren G. Harding

President Harding's boyhood was spent on his father's farm in Ohio. He adopted journalism as his profession, and became editor and proprietor of the *Marion Daily Star*. After serving two terms in the Ohio legislature, he was elected lieutenant-governor.

In 1914 he was chosen to represent Ohio in the United States Senate. He was elected President in 1920 by the largest plurality of the popular vote ever given to a presidential candidate.

President Harding's life affords another illustration of what may be accomplished in our democracy by a comparatively poor boy.

For four months a bitter fight was waged in the Senate over the question of ratification. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, supported by a majority of the Republican senators, demanded the addition of fourteen reservations to the treaty; while President Wilson and the Democratic senators refused to accept any material changes. "Practically every so-called reservation," said President Wilson, "is in effect a rather sweeping nullification of the terms of the treaty itself." The contest ended November 19, 1919, when the Senate voted against ratification; and a second vote in March, 1920, resulted in the final rejection of the treaty. Apparently the deadlock between President Wilson and the Republican senators could not be broken; and both parties looked forward to the presidential election of 1920 as the best means of deciding the issue.

Presidential Election of 1920. The Republican national convention met at Chicago in June, 1920, and on the tenth

ballot nominated Warren G. Harding of Ohio for President, and Calvin S. Coolidge of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The Democrats chose for their standard-bearers James M. Cox of Ohio, and Franklin S. Roosevelt of New York. The adoption or rejection of the League of Nations was the chief issue of the campaign; and the election on November 2, 1920, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republican candidates. Harding and Coolidge received a plurality of nearly 7,000,000 votes, while the electoral vote was 404 to 127 in their favor. The Republicans also had a majority in both houses of Congress; so that the voters had registered their decision against having the United States join the League of Nations.

Special Session of Congress. President Harding summoned the Sixty-seventh Congress to meet in special session April 11, 1921, and on the following day, read his message to the assembled members. He urged the adoption of a budget system for our national finances, and recommended the reorganization of the numerous federal departments and bureaus. The President declared that while the United States would not join the League of Nations, his administration would favor some plan of international coöperation for the purpose of aiding Europe, and for the prevention of future wars. During its special session, Congress took action on several important matters. A national budget system was adopted, making it the President's duty to present to Congress, at the opening of the session, the estimates of the appropriations necessary for each department. Up to this time, appropriation bills had been prepared by various Congressional committees after a series of hearings. This method encouraged each Congressman to try to secure some special appropriation, popularly called "pork," for his own district. The budget plan was intended to abolish the "pork-barrel," and to place responsibility for recommending appropriations upon the executive branch of the government. Congress also authorized the appointment of a special committee to devise a plan for reorganizing the federal departments and bureaus, so as to avoid duplication of work and secure a more efficient and business-like administration.

An important immigration law was passed in May, 1921. This measure limits the number of immigrants coming to the United States in any one year. During this period, no foreign country is permitted to send a number of immigrants larger than three per cent of the number of people of that nationality already in the United States. The result of this measure is to restrict our annual immigration to about 355,000 persons, as compared with an annual average of 1,000,000 immigrants during the decade 1905–1914.

Our Country on a Peace Basis. The Adjutant General reported in 1919 that during the year preceding, 3,422,000 officers and men of our great army had been demobilized. The Sixty-seventh Congress reduced the size of our regular army to 150,000 men, a smaller force than that before the World War. Owing to the Senate's failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, we were still in a technical sense at war with Germany, although all hostilities had ceased with the armistice (November 11, 1918). In order to give official recognition to the fact that the war was over, Congress passed a peace resolution in June, 1921. This resolution, which was promptly signed by President Harding, declared that our state of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary was at an end. Our railroads, which on account of the war had been operated under government control for about two years, were returned to their owners on March 1, 1920.

The Disarmament Conference at Washington. The outstanding event of President Harding's administration was his proposal for an international conference to meet in Washington beginning November 11, 1921. The object of this conference was to devise practical plans for the reduction of military and naval armaments, also to discuss the problems of the Pacific and the Far East. Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan accepted the President's invitation to participate in the conference; while China, Belgium, Holland, and Portugal were asked to send delegates to take part in the discussion of Far Eastern questions.

Limitation of Naval Armaments. The conference began its sessions on November 12, 1921, in the hall of the Daughters

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International Conference at Washington, D. C., for Discussion of Limitation of Armaments and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions

of the American Revolution at Washington. Our Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, was chosen permanent chairman. In his opening speech Secretary Hughes outlined the program favored by the United States for the limitation of naval armaments. This program was accepted by the conference, and its principles were embodied in the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty. Under its terms the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to abandon their shipbuilding programs, also to make further reductions in their naval strength by scrapping many older battleships. Until the year 1936, these powers agreed that their strength in battleships should be in approximately the following ratio: the United States 5, Great Britain 5, Japan 3, France 1.75, Italy 1.75. Expressed in other words, the treaty limits the five navies to the following tonnage in capital ships: the United States and Great Britain, each 525,000 tons; Japan, 315,000 tons; France and Italy, each 175,000 tons. The treaty further limits the size of any new warships to not over 35,000 tons; and it fixes the maximum tonnage of aircraft carriers assigned to each of the several powers.

Prohibition of Inhuman Agencies of Warfare. The British delegates to the conference made a strong plea for the complete abolition of the submarine, but this proposal was not accepted. However, the conference adopted the resolutions introduced by Elihu Root, re-affirming the principles of international law regulating the search and seizure of neutral ships by belligerent vessels. Another resolution declared that it was practically impossible to use submarines as commerce destroyers without violating the rules of international law for the protection of the lives of neutrals. Hence the five powers agreed that as between themselves the use of submarines should be prohibited, and that other nations should be invited to adhere to this policy. Another resolution forbade the use of asphyxiating or poisonous gas or similar devices in warfare, a prohibition which had been previously made in treaties signed by most of the civilized powers.

The Open-door Treaty for China. Another great achieve-

ment of the conference was the settlement of several perplexing problems concerning China and affairs in the Pacific. The questions relating to China were settled by the "Open-Door Treaty," approved at the final session of the conference. Each of the nine powers represented promised to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China; also to accept the principle that all nations were to have equal commercial rights and privileges in Chinese territory, and that none were to have special spheres of influence or exclusive opportunities. Both Great Britain and France announced that they would return to China those portions of her territory that had been leased to them. By a separate treaty with China, Japan agreed to restore the territory of Kiaochow, formerly leased to Germany by China, together with the railway in Shantung which Japan had taken from the Germans during the World War.

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Elihu Root

As Secretary of War from 1899 to 1904, Root's record was one of achievement. He was responsible for the creation of the General Staff and for the founding of the War College; and he administered affairs in Cuba and the Philippines with marked ability. In 1905 he re-entered President Roosevelt's Cabinet as Secretary of State and accomplished many important results, including the reorganization of the Consular Service. Root was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912 in recognition of his services in Cuba and the Philippines, and in adjusting disputes between the United States and Japan. In 1921 he was appointed by President Harding as one of our delegates to the Washington Disarmament Conference.

The Four-Power Pacific Treaty. An important step toward securing permanent peace in the Pacific was the adoption of the Four-Power Treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan. This agreement pledges the four powers to respect each other's insular possessions in the Pacific;

also to accept mediation in case a dispute over these possessions occurs between any of the powers signing the treaty; and to take concerted action if their rights in these island areas are threatened by an outside power. Upon ratification of this treaty, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was automatically terminated. Japan made a separate agreement with the United States concerning the island of Yap, which had been granted to Japan by the treaty of Versailles. Japan assured to the United States free access to the island for the operation of our Yap-Guam cable, as well as for the operation of radio-telegraphic service.

The Ideal of International Peace. The epoch-making conference at Washington came to a close on February 6, 1922, and the treaties framed during its sessions have since been ratified by most of the governments concerned, including the United States. The conference has already borne fruit in a substantial reduction of naval appropriations by the leading nations of the world, thereby affording a measure of relief for overburdened taxpayers. The spirit which animated the conference and inspired the delegates was expressed by one of them as follows: "We make the experiment here of trying to assure peace by trusting . . . to the good faith of the nations responsible for it. If the world has learned a frightful lesson from the awful experiences of the great war of 1914, then our surest appeal in order to prevent wars in the future must be to the hearts, the sympathies, the reason, and the higher impulses of mankind."

Treaties with Germany and Great Britain. Another achievement of President Harding's administration was the treaty concluded with Germany whereby that country acknowledged liability for the loss of American lives and property occasioned by her submarine warfare. A commission was established at Washington to investigate the claims of our citizens and to assess the damages, which Germany agreed to pay. By an agreement with Great Britain in 1923, a settlement was reached for the discharge of her war debt to the United States. Negotiations were also entered into with Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia for the adjustment of our claims against these countries.

Hulett Unloaders taking Iron Ore from Lake Steamers

The bucket leg extending over the vessel dumps the ore into a car, which in turn empties it into railroad cars or places it in stock piles. In the blast furnaces the iron ore is converted into pig iron, much of which is afterwards made into steel in the rolling mills. In the iron and steel industry, the United States leads the world.

Our Attitude toward European Affairs. One of the most perplexing questions confronting President Harding was that of the American attitude toward Europe. The President announced that the policy of the United States would be one of non-interference in European affairs, although we stood ready to give aid and advice upon request. In January, 1923, President Harding ordered home the small American force which, in conjunction with the British and French troops, was occupying German territory on the Rhine. This order was given just as the French troops were ordered into the Ruhr Valley in a final effort to compel Germany to meet her treaty obligations.

However, the President aimed to steer a middle course between those who favored a strict policy of isolation and those who urged American participation in the League of Nations. He declared his belief that the United States should become a member of the Court of International Justice established by the treaty of Versailles. In his last public address the President said: "If controversies over legal rights are to be determined peacefully, there must be a tribunal to determine them. . . . Our own interests demand the judgment of such a tribunal of international justice, and the interests of world peace demand it."

Death of President Harding, August 2, 1923. Soon after announcing his adherence to the World Court program, President Harding made a tour of the western states and Alaska. His sudden death in San Francisco on August 2, 1923, after a brief illness, plunged the whole country into profound grief; and as the funeral train crossed the continent to Washington, vast throngs turned out to pay their last tribute of respect and affection.

President Coolidge and the Sixty-eighth Congress. Early in the morning of August 3, 1923, Vice-President Calvin S. Coolidge took the oath of office as President in his father's home in Vermont, where he was visiting at the time. He requested the members of the Harding Cabinet to continue in office, and announced that he would carry out the policies of his predecessor. When the Sixty-eighth Congress assembled in Decem-

ber, 1923, President Coolidge declared his opposition to the measure popularly called the Soldiers' Bonus, which provided adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon asserted that the country must choose between a reduction in taxes and a bonus, but that it could not have both. Congress decided to take up the taxation problem first, and in March, 1924, the House of Representatives passed a bill which reduced the federal tax on incomes. The measure then went to the Senate for consideration by that body. The Soldiers' Bonus Bill appears almost certain of adoption by Congress, but it may be vetoed by President Coolidge just as President Harding vetoed a similar measure in 1922.

Leasing of the Naval Oil Reserves. Early in the year 1924, the Sixty-eighth Congress decided to investigate the leasing of certain government oil lands to private interests. Realizing the need of fuel oil for the navy, former Presidents Taft and Wilson set aside certain ungranted government lands in California and Wyoming as naval oil reserves. At first the Secretary of the Navy was made custodian of the reserves, but in 1921 they were transferred to the Department of the Interior. A few months later the Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, leased two of these districts to private companies under terms which gave them most of the oil. Corruption was charged in connection with the granting of these leases, and in January, 1924, the Senate passed a resolution directing the President to begin proceedings to cancel the oil leases, and to engage counsel to prosecute any persons guilty of fraud or corruption. The resolution was approved by President Coolidge, who appointed two special prosecutors to take charge of the government's case against the oil companies. Meantime charges and countercharges have multiplied, involving prominent political leaders; and it seems probable that the oil leases will become a leading issue in the presidential campaign of 1924.

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APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(Agreed to, July 4, 1776)

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove

this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. — He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercises; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. — He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an example

and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. —

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as

Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

[Signatures of representatives of the thirteen States, affixed under date of August 2, 1776.]

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.
Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.
Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.
William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.
Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abram Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.
Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.
Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.
George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jun.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jun.,
Thomas Lynch, Jun.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.
Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

(After the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire and Virginia, the following announcement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 14, 1788.)

"SHIP NEWS — EXTRA"

"Arrived safe in port, the ship 'Federal Constitution,' *Perpetual Union*, commander. In her came passengers, *Flourishing Commerce, Public Faith, Confidence, Justice.*"

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Preamble

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

Article I. Legislative Department

Section I. Congress in General

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II. House of Representatives

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of the free persons, including those bound to service for a term

of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. Senate

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; and of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the

President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section IV. Both Houses

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section V. The Houses Separately

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the

United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Mode of Passing Laws

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers granted to Congress

The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government

of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX. Powers denied to the United States

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section X. Powers denied to the States

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II. Executive Department

Section I. President and Vice President

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall con-

sist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.][1]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

Section II. Powers of the President

1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he

[1] This clause of the constitution has been superseded by the twelfth amendment.

shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment

The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III. Judicial Department

Section I. United States Courts

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II. Jurisdiction of the United States Courts

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.[1]

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. Treason

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV. — The States and the Federal Government

Section I. State Records

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

[1] This clause has been amended. See Amendments, Article xi.

Section II. Privileges of Citizens, etc.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.[1]

Section III. New States and Territories

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

Section IV. Guarantees to the States

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the Executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

Article V. Power of Amendment

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be pro-

[1] This clause has been nullified by Amendment xiii, which abolishes slavery.

posed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI. Public Debt, Supremacy of the Constitution, Oath of Office, Religious Test

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII. Ratification of the Constitution

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from Virginia.
New Hampshire — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
Massachusetts — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
Connecticut — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.
New York — Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey — William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

Maryland — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

Virginia — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS [1]

Article I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or

[1] The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress, September 25, 1789, and declared in force December 15, 1791.

affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX

The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

Article XI[1]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Article XII[2]

1. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

[1] Proposed by Congress March 5, 1794, and declared in force January 8, 1798.

[2] Proposed by Congress December 12, 1803, and declared in force September 25, 1804.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Article XIII [1]

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV [2]

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the constitution of the United States, shall have

[1] Proposed by Congress February 1, 1865, and declared in force December 18, 1865.

[2] Proposed by Congress June 16, 1866, and declared in force July 28, 1868.

engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article XV[1]

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XVI[2]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Article XVII[3]

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the legislature of any State may em-

[1] Proposed by Congress February 26, 1869, and declared in force March 30 1870.

[2] Proposed by Congress July 12, 1909, and declared in force February 25, 1913.

[3] Proposed by Congress June 12, 1912, and declared in force April 8, 1913.

power the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Article XVIII[1]

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Article XIX[2]

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proposed by Congress December 17, 1917, and declared by the State Department on January 29, 1919, to be in force on and after January 16, 1920.

[2] Proposed by Congress June 4, 1919, and declared in force August 26, 1920.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG SPEECH

FOUR score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

ORDER AND DATE OF ADMISSION INTO UNION, AREA, POPULATION, AND ELECTORAL VOTE

State	Order Admitted under Constitution	Admitted into Union	Area Square Miles	Population		Electoral Vote
				1910	1920	
Alabama	22	1819	51,998	2,138,093	2,348,174	12
Arizona	48	1912	113,956	204,354	334,162	3
Arkansas	25	1836	53,335	1,574,449	1,752,204	9
California	31	1850	158,297	2,377,549	3,426,861	13
Colorado	38	1875	103,948	799,024	939,629	6
Connecticut	5	1788	4,965	1,114,756	1,380,631	7
Delaware	1	1787	2,370	202,322	223,003	3
Florida	27	1845	58,666	752,619	968,470	6
Georgia	4	1788	59,265	2,609,121	2,895,832	14
Idaho	43	1890	83,888	325,594	431,866	4
Illinois	21	1818	56,665	5,638,591	6,485,280	29
Indiana	19	1816	36,354	2,700,876	2,930,390	15
Iowa	29	1846	56,147	2,224,771	2,404,021	13
Kansas	34	1861	82,158	1,690,949	1,769,257	10
Kentucky	15	1791	40,598	2,289,905	2,416,630	13
Louisiana	18	1812	48,506	1,656,388	1,798,509	10
Maine	23	1820	33,040	742,371	768,014	6
Maryland	7	1788	12,327	1,295,346	1,449,661	8
Massachusetts	6	1788	8,266	3,366,416	3,852,356	18
Michigan	26	1837	57,980	2,810,173	3,668,412	15
Minnesota	32	1858	84,682	2,075,708	2,387,125	12
Mississippi	20	1817	46,865	1,797,114	1,790,618	10
Missouri	24	1821	69,420	3,293,335	3,404,055	18
Montana	41	1889	146,997	376,053	548,889	4
Nebraska	37	1867	77,520	1,192,214	1,296,372	8
Nevada	36	1864	110,690	81,875	77,407	3
New Hampshire	9	1788	9,341	430,572	443,083	4
New Jersey	3	1787	8,224	2,537,167	3,155,900	14
New Mexico	47	1912	122,634	327,301	360,350	3
New York	11	1788	49,204	9,113,614	10,385,227	45
North Carolina	12	1789	52,426	2,206,287	2,559,123	12
North Dakota	39	1889	70,837	577,056	646,872	5
Ohio	17	1802	41,040	4,767,121	5,759,394	24
Oklahoma	46	1907	70,057	1,657,155	2,028,283	10
Oregon	33	1859	96,699	672,765	783,389	5
Pennsylvania	2	1787	45,126	7,665,111	8,720,017	38
Rhode Island	13	1790	1,248	542,610	604,397	5
South Carolina	8	1788	30,989	1,515,400	1,683,724	9
South Dakota	40	1889	77,615	583,888	636,547	5
Tennessee	16	1796	42,022	2,184,789	2,337,885	12
Texas	28	1845	265,896	3,896,542	4,663,228	20
Utah	45	1894	84,990	373,351	449,396	4
Vermont	14	1791	9,564	355,956	352,428	4
Virginia	10	1788	42,627	2,061,612	2,309,187	12
Washington	42	1889	69,127	1,141,990	1,356,621	7
West Virginia	35	1863	24,170	1,221,119	1,463,701	8
Wisconsin	30	1848	56,066	2,333,860	2,632,067	13
Wyoming	44	1890	97,914	145,965	194,402	3
Total			3,026,719	91,641,197	105,273,049	531

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

No.	Presidents	State	Born	Died	Length of Service	Party	Vice Presidents
1	George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	2 terms, 1789–1797		John Adams
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	1 term, 1797–1801	Federalist	Thomas Jefferson
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	2 terms, 1801–1809	Republican [1]	Aaron Burr George Clinton
4	James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	2 terms, 1809–1817	Republican [1]	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
5	James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	2 terms, 1817–1825	Republican [1]	Daniel D. Tompkins
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1848	1 term, 1825–1829	Republican [1]	John C. Calhoun
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	2 terms, 1829–1837	Democratic	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	1 term, 1837–1841	Democratic	Richard M. Johnson
9	William Henry Harrison	Ohio	1774	1841	1 month, March 4–April 4, 1841	Whig	John Tyler
10	John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs., 11 mos., 1841–1845	Whig	
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	1 term, 1845–1849	Democratic	George M. Dallas
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 yr., 4 mos., 5 days, 1849–1850	Whig	Millard Fillmore
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 yrs., 7 mos., 25 days, 1850–1853	Whig	
14	Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1804	1869	1 term, 1853–1857	Democratic	William R. King
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	1 term, 1857–1861	Democratic	John C. Breckenridge
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	1 term, 1 mo., 10 days, 1861–1865	Republican	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs., 10 mos., 20 days, 1865–1869	Republican	
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	2 terms, 1869–1877	Republican	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	1 term, 1877–1881	Republican	William A. Wheeler
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 mos., 15 days, 1881	Republican	Chester A. Arthur
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, 1881–1885	Republican	
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1885–1889	Democratic	Thomas A. Hendricks
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	1 term, 1889–1893	Republican	Levi P. Morton
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1893–1897	Democratic	Adlai E. Stevenson
25	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1 term, 6 mos., 10 days, 1897–1901	Republican	Garret A. Hobart Theodore Roosevelt
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858	1919	1 term, 3 yrs., 5 mos. 20 days, 1901–1909	Republican	Charles W. Fairbanks
27	William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	....	1 term, 1909–1913	Republican	James S. Sherman
28	Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1856	....	2 terms, 1913–	Democratic	Thomas R. Marshall
29	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1865	....	1921–	Republican	Calvin Coolidge

[1] This is not the Republican party which came into power in 1861.

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(Including a pronouncing vocabulary for the more unfamiliar foreign names, especially those in relation to the World War.)

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ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
Hudson Bay
NORTH AMERICA
DOMINION OF CANADA
NEWFOUNDLAND
Ottawa
ST. PIERRE & MIQUELON
UNITED STATES
San Francisco
Washington
New York
BERMUDAS
BAHAMAS
Havana
Tropic of Cancer
HAWAII
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAMAICA
PORTO RICO
VIRGIN IS.
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BARBADOS
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FRENCH GUIANA
BRITISH HONDURAS
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PALMYRA I.
WASHINGTON I.
HOWLAND I.
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Equator
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TAHITI
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COOK IS.
GAMBIER IS.
Tropic of Capricorn
FRIENDLY IS.
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DUCIE I.
Rio Janiero
KERMADEC IS.
RAPA I.
Valparaiso
Buenos Aires
CHATHAM IS.
FALKLAND IS.
SOUTH GEORGIA
Cape Horn
BRITISH ISLES
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
ASCENSION I.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
60
30
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180
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Longitude
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West
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from
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Greenwich
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THE WORLD
showing
UNITED STATES AND POSSESIONS

United States

British

French

Japanese

Former German Colonies ceded to Allied Countries.